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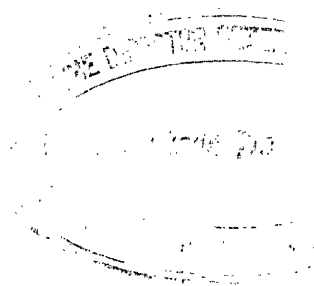
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Dipterocarpaceae of Northern Siam

The Natural Order Dipterocarpaceae consists wholly of trees or shrubs and is confined to the Indo-Malayan Region. The order is one of great economic importance, most of the species yield valuable timber, they all abound in essential oils, which form, on exposure to the air, resins or camphor, and the seeds of some contain a tallow like fat. The Sâl tree of India, *Shorea robusta*, Gaertn. f., and the Bornean camphor tree, *Dryobalanops aromatica*, Gaertn. f., may be mentioned as noteworthy trees of this order occurring outside our area.

Northern Siam though rich in individuals of this order is poor in species; it is not, in this respect, to be compared with the Malay Archipelago, which is the headquarters of the order. O. Beccari tells us that in Borneo he collected fifty species within one mile of his camp.

Several of the species are gregarious, no doubt owing to their adaptation to conditions unfavourable to most other trees. Some of these gregarious species form jungles, locally known as "*pah paa*," which occupy at least half of the forest clad area of Northern Siam. Among the other species are some of the largest and loftiest trees to be met with in the jungles of this country.

Only nine species occurring in this area are known to us. It is probable that two or three other species will be discovered in the future.

All the trees which we deal with here can be readily recognised, when seeding, by their remarkable fruit, which, as the name of the order implies, are winged. These wings are formed by the continued growth, after pollination has occurred, of two or more of the calyx lobes. The genera and species of the order are, to a large extent, distinguished by the character of the fruit, some of which are illustrated on Plate I. (44)

The three genera containing the known species of Northern Siam may be identified by the aid of the following key.—

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I. Ovary in the fruit quite enclosed by the enlarged calyx tube, two of the calyx lobes enlarged in the fruit to form wings.

1. *Dipterocarpus*.

II. Calyx tube not, or hardly, enlarged in the fruit, two or more of calyx lobes enlarged to form wings in the fruit, which is surrounded by the stalk-like bases of the wings.

A. Three or more of calyx lobes enlarged in fruit to form wings.

2. *Shorea*.

B. Two only of calyx lobes enlarged in fruit to form wings.

3. *Hopea*.

The following diagnoses of genera and species are based upon, as far as possible, only prominent, and readily recognizable characters.

1. DIPTEROCARPUS, Gaertn. f.

Trees with tall regularly shaped trunks. Stipules large amplexicaul, deciduous. Flowers large, usually pink. Calyx 5 lobed with a rather long tube free from the ovary. Stamens numerous, connective produced into a long point. In the fruit the calyx tube encloses the woody nut but is not adnate to it, two of the three calyx lobes grow out into long wings.

A. Calyx tube in fruit without tubercles or ridges.

a. Fruit globular; leaves blunt, pubescent.

1. *D. obtusifolius*.

b. Fruit ovoid; leaves acuminate.

2. *D. turbinatus*.

B. Calyx tube in fruit with 5 compressed tubercles at top, alternating with calyx lobes.

3. *D. tuberculatus*.

C. Calyx tube in fruit with 5 longitudinal ribs or wings.

a. Ribs on calyx tube narrow, $\frac{1}{4}$ or less the diameter of the fruit.

4. *D. costatus*.

- b. Ribs on calyx tube broad, $\frac{1}{2}$ diameter of fruit or more.

5. *D. alatus*.1. *D. obtusifolius*, Teysm.

Lao and Siamese, *Mai hieng* (ไม้เหียง); Karen, *Tă la au a meu* (တဲလံအာအမို့), or *Kău la tzu* (ကျော့လံတဲ); Burmese, *Kanyin bok*.

Tree to eighty feet high. Bark grey, longitudinally fissured or cracked, and slightly transversely cracked. Cut reddish brown, dry. Young shoots, petioles, stipules and inflorescence densely clothed with long tawny fascicled hairs. Stipules up to 8 ins. long. Petiole about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long. Leaves 7-10 ins. long, blunt tomentose beneath, pubescent above, secondary nerves 11-16 pairs, parallel, blade of leaf thrown into ridges between the secondary nerves. Inflorescence, short racemes of 4-8 flowers in the axils of the leaves. Calyx usually covered with a soft dense pubescence, petals to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long. In the fruit the calyx tube globular, plum coloured with scattered fascicled hairs, to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter, the 2 wing like lobes 4-6 ins. long, 3 shorter lobes about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long.

D. obtusifolius var. *subnudus*.

In this variety the young shoots and stipules are quite glabrous, the petioles are glabrous for the greater part of their length, but have a few fascicled hairs towards their junction with the blade of the leaf, and the calyx tube is either quite glabrous or silky pubescent. I have several intermediate forms between the hairy and subnude varieties, in one the petioles are hairy for their whole length while the young shoots and stipules are glabrous, in another the stipules alone are glabrous.

Flowering, November—January; fruiting, March—April.

2. *D. turbinatus*, Gaertn. f.—Syn. *D. laevis*, Ham.

Lao, and Siamese, *Mai yang* (ไม้ยาง); Burmese, *Kanyin ni*.

Tree to 120 ft. high or more. Bark light grey, irregularly flaking or cracking. Cut yellowish brown, moist. Young shoots and stipules covered with very fine short pubescence, leaves, petioles and inflorescence glabrescent. Petioles to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long. Leaves ovate, acuminate, to 8 ins. long, secondary nerves 13-17 pairs, straight, parallel, blade of leaf flat. Inflorescence a raceme, sometimes branched, of 4-6 flowers in axils of leaves. Petals to $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long. Fruiting calyx pruinous, ovate, wings glabrous 4 ins. long.

Flowering, April; fruiting, May.

There is a form of *D. turbinatus* with tomentose leaves, but we have not seen it in this country.

3. *D. TUBERCULATUS*, Roxb.

Lao, *Mai teung* (ไม้เต็ง); Siamese, *Mai pluang* (ไม้พลวง); Karen, *Tă la aw a kwa* (တမ္လံအာခွာ), or *La teü* (လံတေ); Burmese, *Eng*.

Tree to about 80 ft. high. Bark longitudinally fissured and slightly transversely cracked, grey or light grey. Cut brown, dry. Stipules covered with a dense, long, grey tomentum, young shoots, petioles, leaves and inflorescence glabrous. Stipules to 6 ins. long. Petioles to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long. Leaves large, cordate-ovate, reaching a length of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft., glabrous beneath, secondary nerves 9-16 pairs, not parallel, blade of leaf flat or angled at midrib. Inflorescence a simple or branched raceme of 6-12 flowers in axils of leaves. Calyx glabrous with 5 small compressed tubercles above between each pair of lobes. Petals to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long. Fruiting calyx tube to 1 in. diameter, glabrous at upper end produced into 5 compressed knobs alternating with calyx lobes, wings glabrous, to 6 ins. long.

D. TUBERCULATUS, var. *TOMENTOSUS*.

Lao, *Mai teung kow* (ไม้เต็งขาว)

In this variety the young shoots and petioles are densely tomentose while the leaves are tomentose beneath. Intermediate forms between this and the above are found, but are not common.

Flowering, March; fruiting, April—May.

4. *D. COSTATUS*, Gaertn.Lao, *Mai yang pai* (ไม้ยางปาย)

Tree to about 150 ft. high. Bark irregularly flaking, usually dark brown. Cut light brownish yellow. Young shoots, inflorescence and petioles densely clothed with rather long yellow hairs, brown on older parts, leaves with a scattered pubescence below, tomentose along midrib and secondary nerves, glabrescent above. Stipules, covered with brown silky hairs, to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. Petioles to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long. Leaf ovate, acute or shortly acuminate, rounded or acute at base, to $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, secondary nerves 10-15 pairs, parallel. Inflorescence a short raceme of 2-4 flowers. Calyx tomentose, calyx tube with 5 longitudinal ridges along its whole length. Corolla to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long. Fruiting calyx tube globular, compressed above and below, about $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter, with scattered stellate pubescence, 5 narrow longitudinal ridges alternating with calyx lobes, wings to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long.

Flowering, March; fruiting, May.

5. *D. ALATUS*, Roxb.

Lao, and Siamese, *Mai yang* (ไม้ยาง); Karen, *Kău* (ကော) or *Kau* (ကျ); Burmese, *Kanyin byu*.

Tree to about 180 ft. high. Bark grey, rather smooth, flaking. Cut light yellow. The young shoots, inflorescence, stipules and petioles covered with a very short grey, or yellowish, tomentum. Leaves with tomentum along midrib below, less along secondary nerves. Petioles about 1 in. long. Leaf oblong-ovate, shortly acuminate, to 13 ins. long, secondary nerves 12-22 pairs. Inflorescence a short simple or branched raceme. Calyx densely tomentose, tube with 5 broad longitudinal ribs alternating with calyx lobes. Corolla about 1 in. long. Fruiting calyx tube about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter glabrescent, with longitudinal ribs about $\frac{5}{8}$ in. broad, wings $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long.

Flowering, February; fruiting, March.

II. *SHOREA*, Roxb.

Large or medium sized trees. Stipules usually small and early deciduous. Flowers rather small. Stamens 15-100. Calyx tube in fruit not

enlarged but the fruit is more or less enclosed by the imbricating bases of the calyx lobes, which are all enlarged to form wings, but 3 usually larger than the others.

A. Stamens 20 or more.

1. *Shorea obtusa*.

B. Stamens 15 only.

a. Petals spreading.

2. *Shorea floribunda*.

b. Petals incurved and forming a hollow globe, open above.

3. *Shorea Siamensis*.

1. *S. obtusa*, Wall.

Lao, *Mai ngaa* (ไม้แงะ); Siamese, *Mai teng* (ไม้เต็ง);

Karen, *Tū la aw a kaw* (တုလာဝအကဝ); or *La ni* (လှာနီ).

Tree to about 80 ft. high. Bark blackish grey, roughly flaking. Cut brown, rather dry. Young shoots, inflorescence, stipules and petioles of young leaves covered with a short scurfy tomentum, sometimes only a scattered stellate pubescence. Petioles glabrescent, to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long. Blade to $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, oblong or oblong-ovate, blunt or shortly acuminate, secondary nerves 14-20 pairs, net-veination not prominent beneath. Inflorescence, axillary or terminal panicles. Flowers yellowish, scented. Calyx with white tomentum. Corolla $\frac{3}{8}$ in. long. Fruiting calyx with all lobes enlarged to form wings but 3 of them larger than other two, bases of wings broad, completely enclosing nut, larger wings to 2 ins. long, shorter to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Flowering, March; fruiting, April-May.

2. *S. floribunda*, Kurz.

Lao, *Mai kāyām* (ไม้กระยอม); Siamese, *Mai pāyām* (ไม้พยอม). Tree to about 30 ft. high, rather mis-shapen. Bark dark grey or nearly black, flaking in rectangular pieces. Cut yellowish brown.

Young shoots, petioles and inflorescence covered with a fine velvety tomentum, stipules with yellow tomentum, young leaves with scattered short grey pubescence, old leaves glabrescent. Petioles about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. Leaves oblong-ovate, rounded at base, acuminate, to 5 ins. long, secondary nerves 17-22 pairs. Inflorescence, large axillary and terminal panicles. Flowers white, fragrant. Calyx with scattered short pubescence. Corolla to $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long. Fruiting calyx glabrous, bases of wings broad and enclosing nut, larger wings to 4 ins. long, one of 2 smaller wings very small and linear.

The Lao natives distinguish two varieties of this tree, (1) *Kayaum deng*, with the branches of the inflorescence red (glabrous?); (2) *Kayaum kow*, with the branches of the inflorescence white (tomentose?)

Flowering, February-March; fruiting, March-April.

3. S. SIAMENSIS, Miq.—Syn. PENTACME SUAVIS, A. DC., PENTACME SIAMENSIS, Kurz. var. SUAVIS, Pierre.

Lao, *Mai pau* (ไม้เปา), or *Mai pau kau* (ไม้เปาขาว); Siamese *Mai rang* (ไม้รัง); Karen *Tā la aw* (တရံလ်အဝ်); or *La baw* (หล่าเปาะ); Burmese, *Eng yin*.

Medium sized or small tree. Bark gray, fissured longitudinally, cracked transversely. Cut reddish brown. All parts glabrous, young leaves occasionally with scattered pubescence beneath. Stipules rather large, to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, membranous and persisting till leaf reaches its full size. Petiole to 2 ins. long. Leaves oblong or oblong-ovate, shortly acuminate, cordate at base, secondary nerves 13-17 pairs, net-veination prominent beneath. Inflorescence, large, branching, in axils of fallen leaves. Flowers yellow, fragrant. Calyx glabrous. Petals incurved. Nut supported below by broad bases of calyx wings, exposed above, wings all large, 3 somewhat larger than other 2, larger to $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long.

S. SIAMENSIS, var. MEKONGENSIS, Pierre.

Lao, *Mai pau deng* (ไม้เปาแดง).

In this variety the leaves have a dense tomentum beneath, and there is a very fine pubescence on outside of calyx and corolla. The stipules

are smaller than in the type, and deciduous before the leaf reaches full size. Leaves blunt, rarely shortly acuminate.

Flowering, March; fruiting, April—May.

III. HOPEA, Roxb.

Trees. Stipules very small, early deciduous. Flowers in unilateral spikes, or racemes, arranged in panicles. Stamens 15. Calyx tube in fruit not enlarged, two of the five calyx lobes enlarged and wing-like, other three lobes remaining very short. Nut embraced by calyx lobes.

1. H. ODORATA, Roxb.

Lao and Siamese, *Mai tukien* (ไม้ตะเคียน); Karen, *So ke* (စိုက်); Burmese, *Thingan*.

Tree to about 100 ft. high. Bark grey with irregular longitudinal cracks. Cut yellow or reddish. Young petioles, and midribs, and secondary nerves beneath, covered with short brown tomentum, inflorescence with grey tomentum. Petioles glabrescent, $\frac{1}{2}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long. Leaves oblong-ovate or nearly elliptical, bluntly acuminate, glabrescent, to $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, secondary nerves 11–16 pairs. Calyx grey velvety outside. Corolla $1\frac{1}{8}$ – $3\frac{1}{16}$ in. Fruiting calyx grey tomentose, 2 lobes greatly enlarged to form wings, other 3 lobes remaining short, wings about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long.

Flowering, March–April; fruiting, April–May.

The Karen names of some of these trees are interesting; mai teung they call the male mai pau, mai hieng the female mai pau and mai ngaa the red mai pau.

JUNGLES IN WHICH THE "DIPTEROCARPACEAE" OCCUR.

Several species of the *Dipterocarpaceae* are remarkable in that they form jungles almost as pure as the European oak or pine forests. There are very few other trees growing in the Tropics, at moderate altitudes, that approach them in this respect; most tropical forests are marked by the variety of their species. Kurz calculates that the evergreen tropical forests of Burma contain 200–300 species of trees to the square mile. In Northern Siam the gregarious species grow in dry deciduous jungle called by the Laos pah paa, and by Burmese eng jungle. Pah paa is found always on soils with a very low

capacity for retaining water, such as red clay, or laterite, sandy and rocky soils. This character of the soil, together with the long dry season, prohibits the growth of any vegetation which is not able to withstand long periods of drought.

Pah paa is best developed on undulating ground, foot-hills, and the lower slopes of mountains; it is met with to some extent also on the plain, when the conditions are suitable.

There are several varieties of pah paa, but they all have certain general characteristics. The jungle is open, approaching the savannah type, and the trees are usually small. Most of the shrubs are small, as they are burnt down by forest fires every year, and are only able to throw up annual shoots in the rains. Woody climbers are scarce, or absent. Herbaceous plants are, in most of the varieties of pah paa, abundant, coming up in the rains, and flowering towards the end of the rains, or in the cold season; they are almost all perennials with tuberous roots; the few annuals found are small, and flower during the rains.

The pah paa in Northern Siam may be divided into four main varieties:—

1. Mai teung jungle.
2. Mai hieng jungle.
3. Mai pau jungle.
4. Mai ngaa jungle.

1. MAI TEUNG JUNGLE.

This jungle is found from the plain to an altitude of about 2,000 ft. above sea level, most frequently on red clay. Of the four varieties of pah paa it has the greatest number of different trees. Mai teung is usually the predominant tree, mai hieng and mai ngaa are also plentiful and the glabrous form of mai pau is found in small quantities. Both mai teung and mai hieng reach a good height, 60-70 ft., but most of the other trees are small. Besides these dipterocarps there are a large number of other trees belonging to many different orders, the commonest being *Terminalia tomentosa* (mai ba hok fa), *Buchanania latifolia*, *Melanorrhoea usitata* (mai hak), which supplies the black varnish used for Lao lacquer work, *Tristania rufescens* (mai kǎw), *Ochrocarpus Siamensis* (salup pi), *Diospyros chretoides*,

and *Quercus* sp. (mai kaw). There are many smaller trees and a few shrubs, such as *Aporosa villosa*, *Ochna Wallichii*, which appears in the dry season as a few inches of leafless twig covered with large yellow flowers, occasionally it grows out into a small tree, *Strychnos nux-vomica* (mai bă teung), *Gardenia erythroclada*, noticeable for its smooth red bark, *Blinkworthia lycopoides*, and a small, almost stemless, palm with edible fruit, *Phoenix acaulis* (pum peng); a dwarf cycad, *Cycas Siamensis*, is found in great abundance in some districts.

The trees are in open order, their crowns as a rule not touching, and the ground beneath is covered with a tufted growth of grasses and cyperads.

Woody climbers are rare in all forms of pah paa, but we sometimes met with *Spatholobus Roxburghii* in mai teung jungle.

Orchids and other epiphytes are very plentiful, two of the finest orchids found in the North, *Dendrobium pulchellum* and *Dendrobium calceolaria*, are abundant, while *Arides multiflorum*, *Arides falcatum*, *Sarcanthus Williamsonii*, *Eria Griffithii*, *Bromheadia aporoides*, *Dendrobium secundum* and species of *Hoya* and *Loranthus* are frequently seen, but, perhaps, the most remarkable of the epiphytes is *Dischidia Rafflesiana*, whose clusters of tawny pitcher-leaves give it the appearance of a fungus rather than a flowering plant. Perennial herbaceous plants are numerous, many of them with grass-like leaves; annuals, when present, are small, often minute, and belong chiefly to the orders *Scrophulariaceae* and *Polygalaceae*, the presence of a species of *Utricularia*, a water loving genus, in this dry jungle is interesting, but it only appears in the middle of the rains when the ground is almost constantly damp.

On the Khoon Youam plateau, a narrow plateau at an altitude of about 1,500 ft. stretching for 7 or 8 miles, there is a form of this jungle in which *Pinus Merkusii* is the predominant tree, mai teung coming next in order of frequency; the soil is a gravelly sand.

By counting all trees over 20 ft. in height, within about 30 yards of the path, we have been able to arrive at a rough estimate of the composition of some of the varieties of pah paa. Estimated in this way the composition of an average sample of mai teung jungle was:—

<i>Dipterocarpus tuberculatus</i> (mai teung)	...	...	37
<i>Dipterocarpus obtusifolius</i> (mai hieng)	...	...	17
<i>Shorea obtusa</i> (mai ngaa)	...	...	17
<i>Shorea Siamensis</i> (mai pau) glabrous form,	...	...	1
<i>Melanorhoea usitata</i> (mai hak)	...	...	14
<i>Quercus</i> sp. (maikaw)	...	...	9
<i>Tristania rufescens</i> (mai kǎw)	...	...	2
Other species less than 1%	...	...	3

100

2. MAI HIENG JUNGLE.

Mai hieng jungle is commonly found in two situations; on the plain, where the soil is sandy, and on steep slopes and crests of ridges at from 2,000-3,000 ft. altitude. In both these places mai teung is absent, and mai hieng forms at least 40% of all the trees present.

On mountains this jungle is found usually on red clay; here from 50-60 % of the trees are mai hieng, most of the other trees being oaks, of which there are three common species; mai ngaa is occasionally met with and, more rarely, the glabrous form of mai pau; both these trees grow to a larger size here than they do in the mai teung jungle below. Near the upper limit of the mai hieng jungle, we first find *Pinus Khasya*.

The ground is covered with a tufted growth of grass as in the mai teung jungle, but there is not such an abundance of other herbaceous plants, nor are there as many shrubs and small trees.

The epiphytes are much the same as those in mai teung jungle, but some of those found below, such as *Dendrobium secundum* and *Eria Griffithii* are not found, their place being taken by *Bulbophyllum nigrescens*, *Coelogyne Rhodiana* and others.

A count of the trees in mai hieng jungle between 2,500-3,000 ft. altitude on Doi Sootep gave the following result:—

<i>Dipterocarpus obtusifolius</i> (mai hieng)	...	...	59
<i>Shorea obtusa</i> (mai ngaa)	...	...	2
<i>Quercus</i> , various species,	...	...	28
Species less than 1%.	...	...	11

100

3. MAI PAU JUNGLE.

Mai pau jungle is found on dry and very stony soil, sometimes on red clay, usually covering low hills not more than 500-600 ft. above the plain. In the hot season it is one of the most trying jungles to travel through; the small grey leafless trees afford no overhead protection while the heat is strongly reflected from the stony ground, at this time of the year devoid of vegetation. Mai pau jungle sheds its leaves more completely than any other jungle in this country, they drop towards the end of January and the new ones do not appear till April.

The mai pau found here is always the tomentose variety, mai pau deng, so called on account of the reddish tinge of its leaves; mai ngaa is, perhaps, the commonest of the other trees, a stunted species of *Pterocarpus* and a *Dalbergia* are also often seen; these trees, like the mai pau, are all small, the general height being about 30-35 ft.

Patches of small bamboo, mai huak, are not uncommonly met with in mai pau jungle. Shrubs are scarce, but sometimes *Cycas Siamensis* (mai prau tau) is abundant.

The herbaceous vegetation is not nearly so plentiful as it is in mai teung or mai hieng jungle.

The trees are frequently infested with parasites, species of *Loranthus* and *Phacellaria*. Other epiphytes, with the exception of a species of *Hoya* and a few small orchids, such as *Vanda parviflora* and *Sarcanthus Williamsonii*, are not common.

The following count was made on Doi Sootep, where this jungle only occurs in small patches which merge into other forms of pah paa; in a typical development of mai pau jungle mai hieng is not present:—

<i>Shorea Siamensis</i> (mai pau deng),	...	...	75
<i>Shorea obtusa</i> (mai ngaa)	...	...	3
<i>Dipterocarpus obtusifolius</i> (mai hieng)	...	...	7
<i>Melanorrhoea usitata</i> (mai hak),	...	...	7
<i>Tristania rufescens</i> (mai kǎu)	...	...	1
Various	...	...	7

4. MAI NGAA JUNGLE.

The jungle which has mai ngaa as its predominant tree is very similar to mai pau jungle, and also occurs on stony ground or red clay. The trees are small and grow in open order.

There is as a rule a better development of herbaceous plants than we find in mai pau jungle.

We have not been able to obtain a count of the trees in mai ngaa jungle.

The *Dipterocarpaceae* not occurring in pah paa are found in various jungles:—

Hopea odorata (mai takien) grows almost exclusively along the banks of streams and rivers in evergreen or semi-evergreen jungle, it is met with from the plain to an altitude of 2,000 ft.

Dipterocarpus alatus (mai yang) is also usually found along river banks, but differs from mai takien in that it does not extend far up mountain streams. Its tall, regular, light grey trunk is a conspicuous object in the jungle along the river between Paknampo and Raheng.

Dipterocarpus laevis (mai yang), which resembles *D. alatus* in general appearance, is found in the same situations as mai takien and has the same range of altitude.

Dipterocarpus incanus (mai yang pai) grows in evergreen jungle at an altitude of 2,000–3,500 ft. and is inclined to be gregarious.

Shorea floribunda (mai kayaum) is found in mixed dry jungle, sometimes associated with teak.

CONDITION OF GROWTH AND REPRODUCTION.

The soil, altitude remaining constant, exercises an important part in determining the type of jungle. Pah paa, as we have pointed out, is always found on a porous well drained soil above the reach of the highest floods. As a rule on red clay we find mai teung, on sandy soil mai hieng and on stony ground mai pau jungle, but it is probable that there are other factors besides soil which have an influence on the type of jungle. Thus we sometimes find mai pau jungle on a red clay showing no gross dissimilarity from that on which mai teung flourishes; even in two areas divided only by a stream considerable differences may be noticed, such as the predominance of mai hieng on one side and of mai teung on the other, instances of this sort are not uncommon. Mai hieng seems to be more readily affected by adverse circumstances than the other trees of pah paa, in some districts it is completely absent from the mai teung type of jungle.

Most of the dipterocarps in pah paa jungle have thick fissured bark and the leaves have various devices, such as position, texture and hairy clothing, for limiting transpiration, this is necessitated by the fact that the soil is such a poor retainer of water. In mature exposed trees of mai teung we find the large leaves hang more or less vertically, so that the surface of the leaf is nearly parallel to the rays of the mid-day sun and in consequence gets less intensely heated; a similar result is achieved by the leaves of mai hieng but in a different way, the general direction of these leaves is horizontal, but the blade is thrown up in high folds between the secondary nerves, so that no part of the green surface is actually horizontal. Correlated with this we find a considerable difference in the habit of the two trees, mai hieng has few branches below, but spreads above somewhat in an umbrella form, while mai teung has a pyramidal shape, thus both trees obtain a large leaf surface without exposing their leaves to the vertical strike of the sun rays; in young trees growing in the shade of old trees these characteristics are not so well marked.

It is interesting to find that several of the species have two forms, one with tomentose, the other with glabrous leaves. The rate

of growth of these two forms is different, that of the tomentose being the slower. It is probable that the tomentose forms affect a drier and more barren soil than the glabrous; this certainly holds good for mai pau, the tomentose variety of which is found on very dry stony ground, while the glabrous grows usually on clay, frequently near streams. We have not been able definitely to establish this difference of soil for the two forms of mai teung and mai hieng, though the mai hieng found above 2,000 ft. on mountain slopes is always the hairy variety.

The ability of some species to store water is also an adaptation to their dry habitat. A characteristic of the young mai hieng tree is that, when cut, it exudes quite a quantity of water; if the stem be cut and turned upside down, water will at once start dropping out and can be easily collected. In pah paa water is often very difficult to find in the dry season, and on shooting expeditions one has frequently to resort to the mai hieng for a drink.

The dipterocarps not occurring in pah paa are, for the most part, hygrophilous, enjoying the vicinity of streams and rivers. Mai yang (*Dipterocarpus alatus*), growing usually on a sandy soil, is often found in places which are flooded every year. Mai yang pai is best developed in damp evergreen forests where the ground is covered with a rich layer of humus.

Many of the devices for protection against intense light coincide, as Schimper has pointed out, with those which restrict transpiration. The position of the leaves, as described in mai hieng and mai teung, probably acts in both these ways, as do the large sheathing stipules of the young leaves in the same two trees. A more particular protection against strong insolation is the deep red colour of the young leaves of several species; this red colour is very marked in the young leaves of mai pau, which has not sheathing stipules.

The trees growing in pah paa are all deciduous, but in some species the period of leaf fall is not so well marked as in others. In the case of mai pau all the leaves fall at about the same time, leaving the tree completely bare, this fall takes place about the end of January and the tree remains leafless till the middle or end of March. In the

other trees of this jungle the leaves fall at the same season, but the bareness is not so marked, as the new leaves have already begun to appear before the old ones have all dropped. The same species of tree may vary, in this respect, in different localities, mai pau in mai pan jungle becomes quite leafless, but when found in other jungles, it is never completely devoid of leaves, this is particularly noticeable in the glabrous variety.

Flowering takes place towards the middle or end of the period of leaf-fall, except in mai hieng, which flowers before the leaves begin to fall.

The length of the period of growth varies in the different species, but in all the growth may be said to be greatest during the first month after the appearance of the new leaves. In mai pan deng and mai ngaa growth is limited to that time, it starts about the end of March and is quite over by the end of April, that is there is only about a month during which the young shoots are lengthening and producing new leaves. It is remarkable that this period is in the dry season which, as far as plant life is concerned, physiologically corresponds to the winter of temperate latitudes. Although the other species have their period of maximum growth in April or May, they continue growing more or less throughout the rains, particularly young or damaged trees.

In the dipterocarps of Northern Siam root-shoots are not an important means of reproduction, we have only noticed them in mai pan and mai teung, and that only very occasionally.

A large number of the species coppice, mai pau, mai hieng, mai teung, mai ngaa and mai kayaum do so, but not mai yang (*Dipterocarpus alatus*).

All these trees have flowers adapted for insect pollination; the flowers of the species of *Dipterocarpus* are large and showy, while those of the others, appearing while the trees are out of leaf, are scented and produced in great abundance.

Fruit are borne in great quantities by all, more especially by the species of *Shorea* and mai takien, which have small, light fruit. Only about one in every twelve trees of mai takien will be found

seedings in one season, so it is highly probable that this species does not seed every year; all the others, as far as we know, seed yearly.

The fruit have no thick or hard covering which would protect them from the forest fires, but this is not of great importance as they fall towards the end of the dry season when these fires are mostly over. At this period of the year, the end of the dry season, there are high gusty winds, which must help to some extent in the distribution of the fruit; indeed from their wings one might regard them as being adapted for dispersal by wind, but it is doubtful if such heavy fruit as those of mai hieng are ever carried, by this means, more than 100 yards; the lighter ones are certainly blown much farther, during high winds they may often be seen whirling through the air at a great height.

The fruit of all the species mentioned in this paper, except those of mai taken, which were not experimented with, floated well and showed no signs of sinking after seven hours in water. This property must be of considerable importance in aiding the dispersal of those species growing along streams and rivers, in fact their fruit may be frequently seen in the debris left by floods and freshets.

The seeds of all species germinate almost at once on reaching the ground. We have never observed germination to occur on the tree, as is sometimes the case in the sāl tree.

In pah paa, where jungle fires in the dry season are the rule, the young trees are constantly being burnt back and so take some years to establish themselves; mai teung takes 5 to 8 years, mai hieng only about 3 years. As with all the other trees in pah paa an extensive woody growth is formed under-ground before this establishment takes place.

ECONOMIC PRODUCTS.

Timber. Of the 9 species mentioned in this paper Mai Takien is perhaps the most useful, it is certainly in greater demand than any of the other species. Since the felling of teak has been prohibited except under the conditions of a lease, Mai Takien has taken its place and the wood is so extensively used for building purposes that the more accessible areas are being rapidly worked out and it is most necessary that Government should introduce regulations to stop indiscriminate fellings. In addition to being used for building purposes, the larger trees are also cut into hulls for the local built boats. These hulls last for years in fresh water, but sea water appears to have an injurious effect on the wood, for it has been noticed that the life of a boat is longer now that it only goes as far as rail-head (Paknambo) than in the old days when boats were sent right down to Bangkok.

Boats are also built out of the Mai Kaiyaum tree, but they are not to be compared to those built out of Mai Takien.

Mai Teung, Mai Hieng, Mai Ngaa and Mai Pau are also used for building purposes. The two former are not much in demand as they are attacked by white ants and are said to rot when exposed to the weather, but in the absence of Mai Takien they are used for inside walling and flooring. Mai Ngaa and Mai Pau are also used for flooring and walling to a certain extent; both woods are comparatively hard to convert and but for this fact would be far more extensively used.

Mai Ngaa and Mai Pau are in great requisition for posts and for this purpose are second to no timber in the North with the exception perhaps of Mai Deng. Mai Ngaa and Mai Pau are highly recommended for telegraph posts, and the Government would be wise if they always insisted on being supplied with these woods for their telegraph lines. A few words must be written on posts cut from Mai Teung. The posts of this wood are considered rather inferior, but it does not appear to have been recognised that the posts are very durable in water. Posts of this wood planted by the British Consulate in May 1889, *i. e.*, over 20 years ago, to protect the front of the Chiangmai compound from erosion, were found to be in a remarkably sound condition, and there were fewer signs of the wood decaying below than above the water line.

Firewood. Mai Hieng and Mai Teung are the best known firewoods in the North. They both burn green, and, so large a local trade is growing up round the large towns, that if the future needs of the population are to be considered, steps should be taken to bring the forests under a working plan.

Both Mai Hieng and Mai Teung coppice and in 15 years yield timber of suitable size for firewood; thus the preparation of a working plan is rendered comparatively easy.

Coppice with standards is, no doubt, the best method to adopt, as a certain quantity of large timber is required.

Speaking of Chiengmai, the drainage area on both banks of the Me Ping for a distance of 20 miles above Chiengmai and the drainage area on both banks of the Me Ping for a distance of 20 miles below Chiengmai might be brought under two separate working plans of a rotation of 15 years each, in which case each area will be divided into 15 coupes and only one coupe in each area will be worked annually. Thus we shall have 2 coupes being worked annually and in 15 years the area reserved for the production of firewood will be under a systematic management much to the benefit of the future population.

Resins and Oils. The chief resin is that obtained from the Mai Yang known locally as "Numon Yang." Mixed with the resin of Mai Teung or Mai Pau it is used for painting boats and is said to preserve the wood. The oil of Mai Teung or Mai Pau is added to form a better sticking mixture, this mixture is also used to make bamboo buckets water tight.

The resin from the Mai Hieng tree is used as a substitute for cocoanut oil in the native lamps and the natives rub the Mai Takien resin on the strings of their fiddles, while the Mai Teung resin mixed with Kin Nya (the wax deposited by the sweat fly, *Trigona laviceps**) is used for caulking boats.

Leaves. The leaves of Mai Teung are used for thatching, those from Mai Teung Khaw are preferred as they are thicker. The leaves

* Scientific name to be looked up.

are cleverly stitched together with bamboo into strands of 1 wah (80 inches) in length, the breadth being the length of the leaf; these strands are tied to rafters, the upper strands almost cover the whole of the lower ones. The leaves should be collected during the period of leaf fall, *i. e.*, about the end of January, and they should be gathered early in the morning when they are still wet with dew; they should then be soaked in water and stitched into strands when time permits. It is essential that the leaves should not become dry at any time before being worked into strands as they become brittle and crumble to pieces. Treated in this manner a roof is said to last as long as three years.

The leaf roof has one advantage over the grass roof in that it does not burn so easily and quickly. These leaf roofs are common throughout the whole of Northern Siam, and, owing to the excessive price of shingles, the Forest Department have most of their Rangers and Foresters' quarters thatched with Mai Teung leaves.

The leaf of the Mai Hieng is also used for thatching but only when Mai Teung leaves cannot be procured in sufficient quantities; but for walling the leaves of the former tree are considered far superior. For walling the leaves are prepared in the same way as for thatching, but instead of being worked into strands they are worked into bamboo frames of 1 wah square and tied to bamboo or timber supports. Such walling is commonly used by the poorer classes and is in great demand in erecting temporary timber camps.

The leaves of the Mai Pau are commonly used for thatching elephant howdahs, and the leaves of Mai Teung and Mai Hieng are used by the people for wrapping up parcels much in the same way as paper is used by a shop assistant at home.

Flowers. The flowers of the Mai Kaiyaum have a strong scent and are much admired by the natives. On feast days and on occasions when girls wish to look particularly bewitching the Kaiyaum flower is worked into garlands which are tied round the hair. The result is picturesque, but the odour is strong and once smelt can never be forgotten.

Miscellaneous. The Lac insect, which is extensively cultivated in parts of North Siam, is grown on Mai Pau when Mai Kwaw cannot be found.

Hai or Thaungya plantations. Siam like Burma and India has to face the question of shifting cultivation known locally as "Hais" and in Burma as "Thaungyas." It is not possible at present to stop "Hai" cultivation, but it is thought that the planting of Mai Hieng seed in "Hais" would be a palliation though not a complete remedy for the deforestation that is taking place over the whole country. It is true that Mai Hieng does not grow in moist ever-green jungles and could not therefore be introduced into every "Hai", but in the lower slopes one constantly sees Mai Hieng saplings growing luxuriantly in an old "Hai;" in fact if the saplings are at all numerous, their dense shade kills all other forest growth. The Mai Hieng is not a valuable wood, but it is far better to have the country clothed with this tree than to see miles upon miles of treeless country, which at one time was covered with valuable forest, but which now is clad with nothing but a rank growth through which both man and animals find it hard to penetrate.

Medicinal uses. The bark of several species, chiefly of Mai Takien, Mai Pau and Mai Yang, ground up and mixed with other drugs is used as a cure for toothache. This remedy owes its efficacy, no doubt, to the essential oils contained in the barks. A mixture, with the barks of mai ngaa and mai pau as its principal ingredients, has some reputation for fattening elephants, buffaloes, cattle, ponies and sometimes human beings. A decoction made from several barks, one of which is mai yang, is given as a tonic for anaemic girls and young children.

Medicines from these barks are usually made in one of two ways, in one a watery extract is obtained by boiling, in the other a powder is got by rubbing the bark down on a stone.

The oil of mai yang is used as a remedy for gonorrhoea, about the same dose being given as of Copaiba, which the natives also call namun yang. This oil is also used externally as an application for wounds in cattle.

In concluding we should like to express our thanks to The Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for the identifications of

most of the species we have mentioned, one species was very kindly identified by The Curator of The Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta.

In the preparation of this paper we freely consulted the following works :—

S. Kurz, *Forest Flora of Burma*, Calcutta, 1877.

D. Brandis, *Indian Trees*, London, 1907.

F. D. RYAN.

A. F. G. KERR.

APPENDIX.

Dipterocarpaceae recorded from Southern Siam not
included in foregoing list.

- DIPTEROCARPUS ANGUSTIALATUS, Heim
Jungle near Klong Son, Schmidt.
Native name, *Ton Yang* (Schmidt).
- DIPTEROCARPUS INTRICATUS, Dyer
Korat, 60-90m., Witt.
Vernacular, *Mai Krat* (Witt).
- DIPTEROCARPUS PARVIFOLIUS, Heim
Jungle near Lem Dan, Schmidt.
- DIPTEROCARPUS SCHMIDTII, Heim
Jungle near Lem Dan, Schmidt.
- ANISOPTERA COCHINCHINENSIS, Pierre
Lim Dan & Klong Prao, Schmidt.
Native name, *Ton Tabak* (Schmidt).
- ANISOPTERA MARGINATOIDES, Heim
Klong Munse, Schmidt.
- SHOREA HENRYANA, Pierre, var. *RIGIDA*, Heim
Lem Dan, Schmidt.
- SHOREA HYPOCHRA, Hance
Klong Munse, Klong Son, Schmidt.
- SHOREA OBTUSA, Wall., var. *KOH-CHANGENSIS*, Heim
Klong Sarlakpet in the jungle near the sea, Schmidt.
- SHOREA SIAMENSIS, Miq., var. *LAEVIS*, Pierre
Klong Prao, on rocks in the jungle, Schmidt.
- SHOREA SIAMENSIS, Miq., var. *OBTUSIFOLIA*, Heim
Klong Majum, alt. 700ft., on rocks in the jungle, Schmidt.
- SHOREA ROBUSTA, Gaertn. f, var. *SCHMIDTII*, Heim
Klong Son, Schmidt.
Heim, who described this from the fruit only, remarks that perhaps
it should be referred to *Shorea vulgaris*, Pierre.
- HOPEA AVELLANEA, Heim
Klong Munse, Schmidt.
- HOPEA SCHMIDTII, Heim
Klong Son, Schmidt.
- HOPEA SIAMENSIS, Heim
Klong Son, Schmidt.

The above list is for the most part compiled from The Preliminary Report on the Botanical Results of the Danish Expedition to Siam (1899-1900), an excerpt from which Dr. Foxworthy of Manila very kindly sent us.

ERRATA.

P. 3, line 21, for "D. OBTUSIFOLIUS var. SUBNUDUS" read

"D. OBTUSIFOLIUS, Teysm., var. SUBNUDUS, Kerr, var. nov."

P. 3, line 25, for "I have" read "There are".

P. 4, line 28, for D. TUBERCULATUS, var. TOMENTOSUS" read

"D. TUBERCULATUS, Roxb., var. TOMENTOSUS, Kerr, var. nov."

P. 6, lines 9 & 10, delete "and forming a hollow globe, open above".

P. 6, line 2, et seq., for "kayaum" read "kayawm". On same line
for "payaum" read "payawm".

P. 13, line 22, for "INCANUS" read "COSTATUS".

P. 14, line 1, for "CONDITION" read "CONDITIONS".

P. 19, for "Numon" read "Namun".

P. 19, delete note at foot of page.

P. 20, line 29, for "Kaiyaum" read "Kayawm."

PLATE I.

Fruit of Dipterocarpaceae.

- Fig. 1. *Dipterocarpus obtusifolius*, Teysm.
- Fig. 2. *Dipterocarpus turbinatus*, Gaertn. f.
- Fig. 3. *Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*, Roxb.
- Fig. 4. *Dipterocarpus costatus*, Gaertn. f.
- Fig. 5. *Dipterocarpus alatus*, Roxb.
- Fig. 6. *Shorea obtusa*, Wall.
- Fig. 7. *Shorea floribunda*, Kurz.
- Fig. 8. *Shorea Siamensis*, Miq.



Plate I.

PLATE II.

Fig. 1. A growing shoot of the ordinary form of *Dipterocarpus obtusifolius*, showing the dense hairy covering of the young shoot, petioles and long sheathing stipules.

Fig. 2. A growing shoot of the subnude variety of *Dipterocarpus obtusifolius* with all parts, except the leaves and a small portion of the petioles, glabrous.



1



2

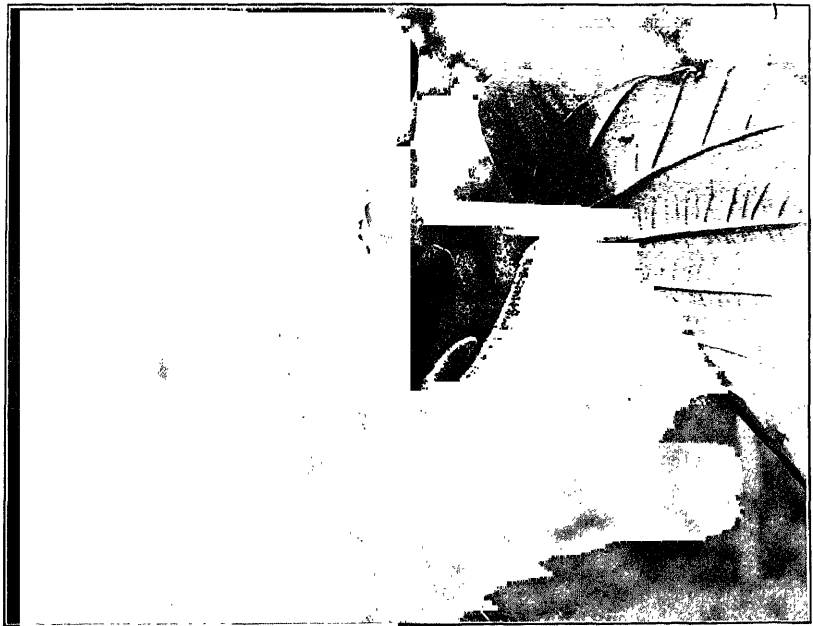
Plate II.

PLATE III.

- Fig. 1. A growing shoot of the common form of *Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*, the sheathing stipules only tomentose.
- Fig. 2. A growing shoot of the tomentose form of *Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*. The young shoots and petioles as well as the stipules have a dense hairy covering. The tomentum on the under side of the leaves is too fine to show on the photograph but it will be noticed the under side of the leaf, where lighted by the sun, looks whiter in Fig. 2 than in Fig. 1.



1



2

Plate III.

PLATE IV.

Fig. 1. *Mai pau* jungle in February with leafless trees. The trees in the foreground are all *Shorea Siamensis*, mai pau. On the road between Lakon and Phre.

Fig. 2. Trees of *Dipterocarpus alatus*, mai yang, along the road between Chiengmai and Lumpoon.



1



2

Plate IV.

PLATE V.

Mai Teung jungle on Doi Sootep at an altitude of about 1,500 ft. The tree to the left is *Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*, mai teung, that more to the right is *Dipterocarpus obtusifolius*, mai hieng; the pyramidal form of the mai teung and the spreading form of mai hieng is well shown. In the foreground is seen the typical grassy undergrowth characteristic of this jungle.

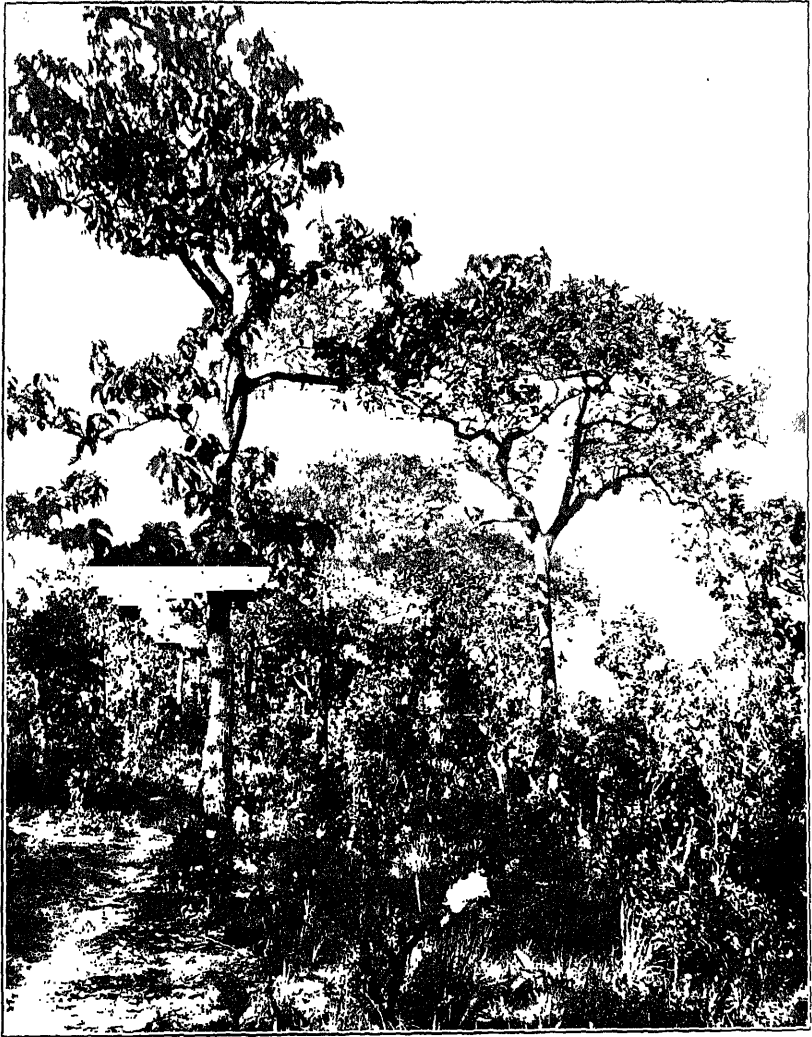


Plate V.

Annual Report 1910.

During the past year, the Society has, perhaps, not shown such a good record of progress as it has done in the past ; but this has been due to various unforeseen circumstances. Although it will be seen that the financial position of the Society is very sound, still a greater display of interest on the part of the members is much to be desired. The membership remains the same, for although 8 new members have been elected, an equal number of resignations has been reported. The Council, in particular, beg to regret the departure from Siam, of two of its oldest members: Messrs. A. C. Carter and R. W. Giblin. The former was for a long time Treasurer of the Society, and the latter held the same post for a short period, and in addition, was a frequent contributor to the Journal. The Society has received promises of further papers from his pen. Up to the time of writing this report but one paper only, has appeared in the Society's Journal, viz, an English translation from the original Dutch of the little known memoir of Van Vliet; but two more papers are in the press,—a translation of the "Paksipakaranam" by Mr. J. Crosby, and a continuation of the paper on the early relations existing between Siam and Burma, by Nai Thian. It is intended to issue these papers as part of the current volume of the Journal as early as possible. The exchange of publications with various learned Societies in different parts of the globe still continues; and the Society has now a considerable number of such publications in its library. These publications may be seen by members of the Society at any convenient time at the Office of the "Bangkok Times."

Accounts of the Siam Society for the year 1910.

CREDIT.

DEBIT.

	Ticals.	Cts.		Ticals.	Cts.
By Balance at Bank 31.12.09. ...	1,069	38	To Translating Jeremias van Vliet's		
Cash on hand 31 12.09. ...	14	38	Description of the Kingdom of		
Subscriptions	1,950	—	Siam	200	—
Sale of Journal	121	—	Bangkok Times, printing, binding		
Interest 1% 30.6.10. ...	8	54	and postage	846	73
Interest 1% 31.12.10. ...	12	01	Stationery	3	—
			Postage	10	26
			Petty Expenses		84
			Cash in hand 31.12.10. ...		28
			Balance at Bank 31.12.10. ...	2,114	20
	3,175	31		3,175	31

Bangkok, 7th January, 1911.

C. A. S. SEWELL,
Hon. Treasurer.

Annual Meeting.

The annual general meeting of the Society was held on the 22nd March 1911, the President Dr. O. Frankfurter in the chair

Mr. Andersen proposed, and Mr. Mundie seconded, that the Report and the Balance Sheet be accepted. Carried.

Dr. Carrington proposed and Mr. Duke seconded that Dr. Frankfurter be re-elected President. Carried.

Mr. Sewell proposed, and Mr. Mundie seconded, that the three Vice-Presidents, Mr. Beckett, Mr. Petithuguenin and Dr. Masao, be re-elected. Carried.

On the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Mundie, it was proposed that the Treasurer (Mr. Sewell) and the Hon. Secretary (Mr. B. O. Cartwright) be re-elected. Carried.

Mr. Petithuguenin proposed, and Mr. Cartwright seconded, that the remaining members of the Council be re-elected, and that Mr. W. A. Graham be also elected to serve on the Council. Carried.

The Council for the year 1911 consists therefore of—

President :	Dr. O. Frankfurter
Vice-President :	W. R. D. Beckett
	P. Petithuguenin
	Dr. Masao
Treasurer :	C. A. S. Sewell
Hon. Sec :	B. O. Cartwright
Members of Council :	Dr. Carrington
	Dr. H. Campbell Highet
	R. Belhomme
	F. H. Giles
	Nai Thian
	C. Sandreckzi
	Phya Prajajib Boribal
	W. H. Mundie
	K. Döhring
	J. Crosby
	A. J. Irwin
	W. A. Graham.



**INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BURMA AND SIAM AS
RECORDED IN HMANNAN YAZAWINDAWGYI.**



PREFACE.

In offering now the continuation of the translation of such portions of the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi which have reference to the intercourse between Siam and Burma, I feel that I must apologise for the long delay in getting the translation ready for publication.

The subject matter contained in this number of the Journal is what is given in the third volume of the Hmannan history, and it closes with the account of the temporary rise of the Talaings in power, immediately before a new dynasty was founded by Alaungpra, who, subsequently, overthrew the Talaings and brought Burma proper and Hanthawadi under one united rule.

The intercourse, between Siam and Burma, continued in the reign of Alaungpra and of his successors, and it did not come to end till the close of reign of King Bodawpaya. It will probably take another number of the Journal to publish the translation of the record of such intercourse, as given in the remainder of the Hmannan history, which has been edited with additional matter bringing the Burmese history up to the British annexation of Upper Burma, and published under the name of "Kônbaungzet Maha Yazawindawgyi." I hope to be able to get the translation ready for publication by about this time next year.

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. B. O. Cartwright, B. A., for his kindness in looking over the proofs and making such corrections as were necessary.

Bangkok

February 29th 1912.

NAI THIEN.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
I. King Kyawdin Nawrata's unsuccessful attempt to put Uparit on the throne of Linzin	1
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same events ...	8
II. King Kyawdin Nawrata marched to Linzin and put Uparit on the throne	9
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	19
III. King Kyawdin Nawrata appoints his son Nawratazaw as tributary king of Zinmè	21
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	28
IV. Trouble in Linzin and assistance sent from Hanthawadi. King Kyawdin Nawrata's preparations to invade Arakan, and his sudden death	30
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	34
V. King Kyawdin Nawrata's son ascended the throne. King Bra Narit of Yodaya regained independence. Two unsuccessful invasions of Siam by the Burmese	36
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	45
VI. Two unsuccessful invasions of Siam by the Burmese. Break up of the Burmese Empire. King Bra Narit invaded Hanthawadi twice. Death of the supreme king	47
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	59
VII. Burmese Empire again consolidated by Nyaung-yan Min and his son. Career of the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito	61
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	78
VIII. Decline of the power of Burmese kings. Feeble attempts to invade Siam. Rise in power of the Talaings	88
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	104

APPENDIX.

Traditional account of the humble origin of Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata	117
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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

- Page 2, line 20 from top, insert figure 1 within bracket after 'position.'
- Page 4, line 20 from bottom, for 2000 read 20,000.
- Page 13, line 9 from bottom, for (A.D. 1564-164) read (A.D. 1564-1565.).
- Page 24, line 11 from top, for 'governor' read 'governor.'
- Page 32, line 3 from top, insert 'made' after 'copies' and delete 'made' in next line.
- Page 32, line 10 from top, for 'Nyang-ywe' read 'Nyaung-ywe.'
- Page 32, line 11 from top, for 'harekittara' read 'Tharekittara.'
- Page 36, lines 11 and 12 from bottom, insert 'father's' between words 'his' and 'half.'
- Page 37, line 4 from top, for 'myspathiser' read 'sympathiser.'
- Page 37, line 19 from bottom, for 'desgn' read 'design.'
- Page 41, line 2 from top, insert comma after 'Binnya Paran.'
- Page 42, line 12 from bottom, insert 'the' before 'King.'
- Page 61, line 7 from top, insert full stop after 'Toungoo.'
- Page 62, top line, for 'Naung-yan' read 'Nyaung-yan.'
- Page 65, top line, insert 'two' between 'the' and 'sovereigns.'
- Page 66, line 8 from top, for 'be fallen' read 'befallen.'
- Page 67, line 14 from bottom, delete 'as' before 'authority.'
- Page 68, line 8 from top, delete comma after 'next,' and insert comma after 'year.'
- Page 71, line 18 from bottom, for 'againg' read 'Sagaing.'
- Page 71, line 17 from bottom, for 'hinking' read 'thinking.'
- Page 76, line 16 from top, for 'rebeled' read 'rebelled.'
- Page 81, line 11 from bottom, from 'dant' delete 't' and insert hyphen.
- Page 101, lines 5 and 17 from top, for 'Ne-ko' read 'Nè-ko.'
- Page 107, line 5 from top, for 'rome' read 'I'rome.'
- Page 118, line 13 from bottom, for 'tprecepts' read 'precepts.'
- Page 119, line 12 from bottom, for 'his' read 'this.'

I.

INTRODUCTION.

The last of a series of translations from the Hmannan-Yazawindawgyi ended with an account of a fruitless expedition undertaken by King Kyawdin Nawrata, immediately after his capture of Yodaya, against the King of Linzin with the object of crushing his power and reducing him to vassalage in order to prevent him from entertaining any aggressive designs against the new King of Yodaya whom King Kyawdin Nawrata had only recently placed on the throne, after having deposed King Bra Mahein. Fruitless was the expedition in that the objects aimed at were not realized, and His Burman Majesty had to return to Hanthawadi after his army had suffered most miserably by reason of sickness, starvation and wearisome marches. He reached Hanthawadi in Wazo of Chula Sakkaraj 932, and for two years there was a lull in his martial activity. Some time in the year 934 (A. D. 1570) his attention was directed to Linzin owing to the King of Linzin having died, and the throne having been seized by one of the nobles. The following is an account of his interference in the affairs of Linzin.

About a year after King Kyawdin Nawrata had left Linzin territory, the country must have sufficiently recovered from the effects of the devastation caused by the presence of the Burmese forces, to enable King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin to invade Lawaik. The invasion proved disastrous to the invader, for he was killed in the fight and part of his army captured by the King of Lawaik.

Then one of Linzin's nobles, Binnya Thane by name or rather title, seized the opportunity to place himself on the throne, by assuming command of the

remaining forces and killing those of the nobles who would not acquiesce in his assumption of sovereign authority. He not only usurped the throne but also appointed his son as heir-apparent with the title of Binnya Lagun.

News of the events in Linzin must have reached King Kyawdin Nawrata during the early part of (Chula Sakkaraj 934 (A. D. 1570). He lost no time in summoning his sons, brothers and ministers, and telling them that Linzin was an established and recognized kingdom, and the custom with all kingdoms was that on the demise of a king, the deceased's son succeeded to the throne, and in the absence of a son, the deceased's next younger brother became the rightful heir. He then pointed out that on the death of King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin, his younger brother Uparit (Uparaja), who was then in Hanthawadi having been taken there a captive, but whom His Burman Majesty very nobly maintained in honour and dignity, befitting his birth and position.() was the rightful heir to succeed to the throne of Linzin. He said that he looked upon Uparit as one of his own sons and that while Uparit was still alive, the usurpation of the throne by Binnya Thane was not right.

Binnya Dala, who was generally the first speaker in King Kyawdin Nawrata's councils, said that as Binnya Thane did not belong to the royal house of Linzin, it was very likely that the nobility would not acquiesce so readily in the usurpation, and if such should be the case it would not be necessary to send an army, but a royal message should be sufficient: if a message failed to accomplish the desired end, then it might be time for an armed expedition. King Kyawdin Nawrata approved of Binnya Dala's suggestion and ordered him to carry it out to the best of

(1) See previous translation paper IV, pages 40 & 43 of Siam Society Journal Vol. V. part I.

his discretion. After consulting with the other nobles, Binnya Dala had the message worded to the following effect :—

That Linzin was a kingdom, and the ancient usage with the Kings of Linzin was that on the demise of a King, his son should succeed him; that Uparit a son of the old King of Linzin and a younger brother of the deceased Bra-Sè-Zit, the King who last occupied the throne of Linzin, was still alive at Hanthawadi being treated by His Burman Majesty as his own son; that while a rightful heir to the throne was still living it was not right for Binnya Thane to usurp it; that Binnya Thane should make over the Kingdom to the rightful heir, and that he would not be degraded from his former position and rank as a noble of the realm.

Two nobles Thamandarar and Turin Kyawthu were chosen as envoys and entrusted with the mission to Linzin. It proved a complete failure, for not only were the envoys received with indignity but an attempt was made to murder them; and murdered they would have been, had not Binnya Thane's spiritual preceptor Maharat interposed by timely counsel that there never had been heard among kings of old, of any instance in which envoys were murdered or injured. Maharat also reminded Binnya Thane that his Majesty of Hanthawadi was not a usurper with no following but a mighty sovereign surrounded by sons, sons-in-law, brothers, and nobles, and possessed of a vast army of well-equipped forces of elephants, horse and men; and that every time he had marched into Linzin, no resistance could be offered him, and the country had been invariably laid waste by him.

The two envoys returned with more haste than would be in keeping with the dignity of their office, by retracing their steps day and night. On arrival at Hanthawadi they reported the result of their

mission. King Kyawdin Nawrata was highly incensed but he controlled his temper and simply reproached his sons, brothers and nobles for their ingratitude, saying that not one of them would come forward to render self-sacrificing service, even though they knew that the young usurper of Linzin had the audacity to treat his message with scant ceremony and show a defiant attitude, and the young governors of Mogaung and Mo-hnyin were in open rebellion. Binnya Dala then told his sovereign that he would proceed to Thaung-yet a town on the frontier of Linzin and try to reason with Binnya Thane to make him see the futility of his attempt to go against the wishes of His Majesty, and only when measures on a small scale such as the one proposed by him failed, should organized invasion by all the generals be resorted to. This suggestion met with His Majesty's approval and Binnya Dala was accordingly ordered to go.

Binnya Dala took from the capital 200 elephants, 2,000 horse and 20,000 men; 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under his own personal command, and the remainder under the command of Thamein (Sming) Paik-nyè. They made their way direct to Thaung-yet. Orders were at the same time sent to Zimmè for Binnya Thane Lôn and Binnya Than-lau to march to Thaung-yet with a force of 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men between them, and to assist Binnya Dala; and also to Yodaya for Oya Peikthalauk, Oya Thuwunnalauk, Oya Peiksè to proceed to Thaung-yet with 300 elephants, 1,500 horse and 30,000 men and to co-operate with Binnya Dala. The Burmese general hastened to Thaung-yet without waiting on the way to pick up his auxiliaries. After arrival at his destination he found the usurper took no steps whatever either to parley or to fight. He consequently sent a message worded to the following effect:—that owing to Binnya Thane's failure to go to Hanthawadi and report to King Kyawdin Nawrata of the events that had happened

in Linzin, he, the chief minister (lit: Agga Mahā Senapati) of his mighty sovereign, lord of crowned kings and master of many white elephants, was ordered to come out and bring about a settlement; if peaceable means failed to do that, His Majesty himself would invade the country with his mighty army; and Binnya Thane was asked to take advice to see that a settlement was effected. The governors of Linpate and Zapau were sent from Thaung-yet, and on arrival at Linzin they delivered their message. They narrowly escaped being murdered, because Binnya Thane's attempt to kill them was not carried into execution on account of the counsel of his spiritual adviser Maharat who said that an attempt to kill envoys was not a kingly conduct, and that on the previous occasion when an attempt had been made to kill the envoys of King Kyawdin Nawrata, his counsel had prevailed, and so had been the means of saving the situation. The messengers were shown a military display of the best elephants and horse, and then dismissed with the following words of defiance from Binnya Thane:—"In coming to fight me, Binnya Dala is out of consideration. Even if King Kyawdin Nawrata were to come himself, he can conquer me only when he has broken the tusks of my elephant."

The messengers told Binnya Dala what Binnya Thane had said to them. Binnya Dala, moved more by hasty anger than by sound judgment, said he would march immediately and fight the army of Linzin. But he was soon brought round to his better reason when his lieutenants pointed to him the inadequacy of the forces under him; and they also told him that they thought his decision to fight then was rash, because the auxiliaries from Zimmè and Yodaya had not yet arrived, and during the two months they had been staying at Thaung-yet, they had exhausted their provisions and the men were hard put to obtain fresh provisions, many of them being

already weak from starvation. Therefore, with the object first of finding provisions and secondly of effecting a union with the auxiliaries from Yodaya who were coming up by water, they thought it better to leave Thaung-yet and march by land towards the direction in which the auxiliaries were expected to be coming; and when they had obtained sufficient provisions and joined hands with those who were to co-operate with them, then only to make a general march against Linzin both by land and by water. Binnya Dala being fully aware of the condition of his army readily yielded to the general opinion and marched back in the direction of Yodaya, with the hope of meeting the forces from there.

Oya Peikthalauk and his brother commanders who were marching up by water received information that Binnya Dala had returned from Thaung-yet. They thought that the gallant general must have gained the object of his mission, and without waiting to obtain more definite and detailed information, they returned to their respective towns. The same thing happened with the auxiliaries from Zinmè, Binnya Thane Lôn and Binnya Thanlan returning to Zinmè, as soon as they heard that Binnya Dala was on the return march. They even sent on the news in advance to Hanthawadi. One cannot help suspecting the good faith of the three Oyas from Yodaya and the two Binnyas from Zinmè, considering how slow they were in coming and how quick were they in jumping to a conclusion which gave them a ready excuse to return. However, the Burmese historian of the time had no such suspicions whatever.

King Kyawdin Nawrata was very angry with Binnya Dala. He was not even permitted to return to Hanthawadi but was given five attendants and made to reside at a place called Zanet in Siamese territory, probably not very far from Kaman-paik (Kamphengpet). All his lieutenants were put in the

cangue and taken to Hanthawadi in that condition. After an enquiry they were deprived of their rank, slaves, and attendants. When Binnya Dala had resided at Zanet about five months, the King of Yodaya took pity on him and removed him to Kaman-paik, as Zanet was a very unhealthy place. The removal was reported to Hanthawadi and no objection was made. Poor Binnya Dala did not long survive to enjoy the kindly interest taken in him by the King of Yodaya, as he died about a month after his arrival at Kaman-paik.

The Burmese historian then narrates how, on three occasions, Binnya Dala treacherously attempted to take the life of King Kyawdin Nawrata and how on each occasion the guilt was brought home to him. Yet, he says, with rare forbearance His Burman Majesty spared the life of Binnya Dala, recognizing his skill in diplomacy and in warfare, as well as his bravery. But when Binnya Dala failed to achieve anything in an expedition entrusted to him, His Burman Majesty could find no room for mercy or lenient treatment, as much as to say that he prized success in warfare more than his own life.

With the death in exile of Binnya Dala, King Kyawdin Nawrata's first and unsuccessful attempt to put his protégé on the throne of Linzin was brought to an end.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same events.

In the year following the return of Bureng Naung there was a disturbance in the territories of Mogaung and Monyin, but it was suppressed without difficulty. Soon after, the king's great enemy, the king of Lengzeng, was killed in an attack he made on a town belonging to Cambodia. One of the prisoners who had been brought from Laos was Ubarit, brother to the deceased king. He consented, if placed on the throne of his native country, to be tributary to the Burmese monarch. An expedition was therefore sent under Binnya Dala. It was unsuccessful, and Bureng Naung, who never forgave a failure, either put to death the unfortunate general, hitherto a special favourite, or sent him into exile to a sickly place, where he soon died.

II.

INTRODUCTION.

One characteristic of King Kyawdin Nawrata is that failure very seldom affected his resolve to do anything. He was bent on putting Uparit on the throne of Linzin, and though Binnya Dala's expedition made especially for that purpose entirely failed, he did not abandon the idea of giving effect to his desire. Only two years elapsed from the time of Binnya Dala's death to that of an expedition to Linzin personally conducted by him. During those two years no events of real historical importance were recorded in the Hmannan history; but mention here may be made of two events, simply because they had reference to Siam: one is the arrival at Hanthawadi of a white elephant from Anau (Muang Nan) on Wednesday the 7th. of waning Thadingyut, Chula Sakkaraj 935, (October A. D. 1573), and the other is King Kyawdin Nawrata's donation of three hundred ticals for the repairs of Mahazedi pagoda at Zinmè in Nadaw (December) of the same year.

Almost simultaneously with the invasion of Linzin an expedition under the command of the King of Ava had to be sent to Mogaung and Mohnyin, two small Shan States which had given no end of trouble to King Kyawdin Nawrata. This expedition which consisted of fifteen regiments with a total force of 800 elephants 8,000 horse and 60,000 men started, most probably from Ava, on Thursday the 1st. of waning Thadingyut 936 (A. D. 1574); and it accounts for the absence of the King of Ava among the forces invading Linzin.

Towards the close of the rains in the year 936 King Kyawdin Nawrata summoned his sons, brothers, and nobles and re-opened the question of putting

Uparit on the throne of Linzin, saying that he himself would conduct the operations. No opinions were asked of anybody and orders were at once issued to mobilize an army. Considering how they had always fared in their operations against Linzin, a country hundreds of miles away from Hanthawadi, probably very sparsely populated and very unhealthy, and how her King invariably refused to come to close quarters and played the waiting game, the generals, in spite of their martial ardour, must have greatly demurred on that occasion, but they dared not breathe a word of dissent. Accordingly, the army was mobilized and was composed of the following forces:—one division consisting of 10 brigades with a total force of 600 elephants, 6,000 horse, 110,000 men under the command of the King of Toungoo; a similar force under the King of Prome formed another division; and a third under Maha Upayaza contained the same strength, but only five brigades belonged to Hanthawadi, the remaining five being made up of two brigades from Zimmè under the leadership of Binnya Thane-Lôn and Binnya Thanlan, and three from Yodaya under Oya Peikthalauk, Oya Thuwunalaik and Oya Peikse. These auxiliary forces from Zimmè and Yodaya must have joined the main army when it had reached Zimmè. His Majesty's body-guard consisted of 4000 foot lancers carrying shields, 4000 Mussulman fusiliers, and 400 Baringyi (Feringi) gunners, 4000 horsemen, and 400 war elephants ridden by noblemen's sons skilled in elephant riding. These units were distributed equally on the right and left and in front and rear. The start from Hanthawadi was made on Wednesday the 7th of waning Thadingyut 936 (October A. D. 1574).

When Binnya Thane heard that King Kyawdin Nawrata was approaching with a vast army, he sent away the best of his elephants and horses to be concealed in the dense forests, and made preparations to leave the city with his army. His son whom he

had appointed Uparaja appeared to be more patriotic, for he asked his father to face the danger boldly, saying that having usurped the throne and defied a powerful sovereign it would be highly reprehensible if a bold front were not shown and a stout resistance offered to the coming enemy, who would be sure to plunder and pillage the city if left to its fate and to lay waste the country as well. The father, however, would not listen to him, pointing out that it would be hopeless to fight the Burmans then, but by keeping himself out of the way for some time the enemy would be worn down and weakened by starvation and sickness in their attempt to find him, and that they could then be fought with better chance of success. The young patriot persisted, saying that in all their previous encounters with the forces from Hanthawadi, only the patriotic few dared face their foes in battle, while the rest took to flight at the very sight of them, thus causing panic and rout in their ranks and demoralising the whole army, at the same time giving encouragement to their enemy. He offered to fight King Kyawdin Nawrata's forces with about 100 of the best elephants and 8000 men chosen from among those who were related to themselves, and who would be willing to sacrifice their lives. The King of Linzin said it was useless to resist, with such an insignificant force, an enemy whom even Bra-Sè-Zit's vastly superior forces had always found irresistible. He found the nobles were divided in opinion, and such was his fear of conspiracy among them, (a fear engendered no doubt by his not being a descendant of the royal house of Linzin and by the insecurity of his position as King without a unanimous support of the nobility), that he surrounded over thirty dissentient and probably disaffected nobles with forty elephants and some troops, and killed them with shot and shell from an artillery fire. After this deed of heartless execution he left the town of Linzin.

King Kyawdin Nawrata thus occupied Linzin

without any opposition, but he was far from satisfied with such easy success, because he knew that as long as Binnya Thane was at large and would not relinquish his pretensions to the throne, there would be no enduring peace. His dissatisfaction found expression in continual reproach to his generals and commanders, probably without sufficient reason for it. From his personal experience of Linzin territory and the tactics of her kings, he knew very well that to go in pursuit of Binnya Thane would simply mean toilsome marches with death from starvation and sickness among the pursuers. Therefore, with the intention of returning to Hanthawadi he had Maing-San fortified very strongly and stationed four brigades to garrison the town. He also built many granaries and, collecting all the available grain in the neighbourhood, had them filled with it. He sent off Uparit to Maing-San to stay there, while he himself remained in Linzin.

Then at every crossing of roads His Burman Majesty had written proclamations posted up. In the proclamations he declared that the object of his invasion of Linzin was, not to destroy Linzin and lay waste the country, but to put Uparit on the throne, who was a lineal descendant of the royal house of Linzin, and who moreover was the rightful heir in the line of succession after the death of King Bra-Sè-Zit; that a peaceful mission sent to Binnya Thane having failed to achieve the object, owing to the usurper's having shown a defiant attitude, he had come to depose Binnya Thane and raise Uparit to the throne; that it was not his intention to leave Linzin without having seen Binnya Thane. The proclamation concluded with an injunction that those who wished to avoid death and save their property and privileges from confiscation were to surrender themselves to Uparit at Maing-San. Uparit then prostrated himself three times before his august benefactor and said that such kindness as that he could not possibly repay fully even if he were to try and

do so during all his future existences before his attainment of nirvana. He expressed his anxiety about the trouble and hardship His Majesty, the generals and the army would be put to in the pursuit of the fugitive King. His Majesty assured Uparit that in coming to Linzin he had no other object than that of putting his protégé on the throne, and that he would not return to Hanthawadi until he had captured Binnya Thane and placed Uparit securely on the throne. Forthwith he issued orders to send out several columns in different directions to go in search of the fugitive.

Some of the officials and the wealthy people who had left the town and taken refuge in the woods, finding escape from the searching columns impossible, surrendered themselves to His Burman Majesty at Linzin. There were also many who, having seen the proclamations posted at the crossings of the roads, surrendered themselves to Uparit at Maing-San. Those who so surrendered themselves were not harmed in any way, nor were their property and privileges confiscated. But it was a hard lot for those who were hunted down in their places of hiding, for they were stripped of all their possessions and led captives to His Burman Majesty.

It will be remembered that when King Kyawdin Nawrata led his punitive expedition to Chiangmai in Chula Sakkaraj 926-927 (A. D. 1564-1564),¹ the governors of Zinthane, Lagun, Anan or Nan, and Turaing fled to Linzin disliking to be subject to Burman supremacy. Of these four, the governor of Zinthane was captured during the flight and taken away to Hanthawadi on the return of His Burman Majesty. The governor of Nan, or Binnya Nan as styled by the Burmese historian, was killed in the battle at Naunghan. Binnya Lagun, who was also

1. Paper IV, page 31, of Siam Society Journal, Vol. V., part 1.

present in the same engagement, escaped on horseback ; he, however, met his death in the expedition led by King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin against Lawaik. Therefore, there remained only the governor of Turaing or Binnya Turaing who had since attached himself to Binnya Thane ; and he in common with others left Linzin, on the approach of the invading forces, for a place of safety in the forest. Unfortunately for him, he was found by one of the searching parties, captured and taken into the presence of King Kyawdin Nawrata, who, however, had him released of the bonds on his person, and bathed and dressed in a new suit of clothes. After which he was permitted to attend on His Burman Majesty in the same manner as the other nobles and officials, and treated as if His Burman Majesty were not in the least angry with him. Binnya Lagun must have been very much surprised at the kind treatment he received from his dreaded enemy, contrary to what he had probably anticipated ; he prostrated himself three times before His Majesty and extolled the Burmese monarch for the great forbearance shewn, saying that such compassion and mercy as was extended to him could only have come from an embryo Buddha ; he went even further by comparing the Burmese King with Buddha himself, when he said that the crime committed by him against His Burman Majesty might be compared to that committed by Devadatta against Buddha, and then with a touch extremely human, said that were he to be executed then he would certainly be born in one of the four apāyas (states of suffering) to undergo punishment. His Burman Majesty replied saying that he certainly was angry with the Binnya for his conduct, but remembering how difficult it was for anyone to be born in the human world, he tried to appease his anger to save a human life ; being flattered with the possession of divine virtues he could not but play the part of a divine being, if for no other reason than simply that of consistency.

One day an infantry man was able to capture nearly 40 refugees, both men and women. They were brought into the presence of King Kyawdin Nawrata, the men with wooden collars round their necks, and the women with ropes tied round their waists. Among them His Burman Majesty saw a man who would make a good soldier. He redeemed the man by paying the captor ten silver tical pieces. The man gave his name as Maing-Nan, and after having taken the oath of allegiance, he was employed to gather in the refugees and keep them in his village Maing Pai; not to be molested by the Burmese soldiery, he was given a sort of passport which would exempt him and his captives from seizure. In a short time he was able to gather in about 400 refugees whom he took to His Burman Majesty, who was very highly pleased with his own recruit and rewarded him. Maing-Nan was subsequently ordered to call in his relatives, rewarded with the governorship of Maing-Paw and given the insignia and privileges appertaining to such an appointment. The headmen of the villages neighbouring Linzin were called in, and they took the oath of allegiance. They were suitably rewarded and ordered to gather in the villagers who also took the oath, and who were permitted to return to their homes to pursue their usual vocations in peace.

Towards the close of the rains, King Kyawdin Nawrata thought that as long as he was present in Linzin territory, Binnya Thane would not dare expose himself, and that there would be a better chance of capturing him when he ventured out of his hiding place on his knowing that the enemy had left the country. Therefore he left Linzin and went to Maing-San via Naungghan. On arrival he administered the oath of allegiance to the nobles who had surrendered to Uparit. They were given suitable appointments according to their merits. Then Uparit took the oath to remain loyal and faithful to King Kyawdin Nawrata, his sons and grandsons, after which he was offered

the insignia of royalty and formally declared King of Linzin. His Burman Majesty then admonished the new King saying. " Because I look upon you, Uparit, as one of my own sons, I have come here myself to place you on the throne of Linzin. If you love me, you should love your subjects; and if you would promote my interests, you should have at heart the welfare and prosperity of your subjects." Knowing full well that Uparit's position was still insecure, he placed four brigades, under Binnya Gyan, Binnya Paran, Binnya Brè, and Binnya Thane Lôn, at Uparit's disposal.

Before leaving, King Kyawdin Nawrata fixed the weights and measures and made them the same as those in use in Hanthawadi. He gave Uparit ticals one hundred for the repair of pagodas, sîmas, monasteries, and salas. He left Maing-San on the 7th. of waning Ka-ôn 937 (May, A. D. 1575), and went to Zinmè, taking with him Binnya Turaing and the Zinmè nobles with the exception of Binnya Thane-Lôn who, with his brigades, was left at Maing-San. After a short stay at Zinmè he left for Hanthawadi arriving at his capital on the 12th. of waning Wazo 937 (July, A. D. 1575).

King Kyawdin Nawrata must have been an exceedingly active and energetic man, for he allowed himself only three months' rest after the long march back from Linzin. He arrived in Hanthawadi during the early part of the rainy season, and at the close of it he was again on the move. Only a week before he himself started for Linzin, the King of Ava was despatched on an expedition to suppress the Sawbwas of Mogaung and Mo-hnyin. The result of the operations could not have been to King Kyawdin Nawrata's satisfaction, because he found it necessary to proceed to the two troublesome little States himself. He started from Hanthawadi on Saturday the 7th. of waning Thadingyut 937 (October, A. D. 1575).

In the meantime Binnya Thane, the usurper, having heard of the return of his great enemy, ventured out from his hiding place to try conclusions with Uparit and the four Binnyas who were left at Maing-San to assist the newly enthroned King. However, he and his son were captured by a stratagem. In all probability, he had made himself odious to his own followers by his suspicious and cruel nature, and the stratagem which the Burmese historian spoke of was nothing but the betrayal by some of his followers. Then a difference arose between Binnya Thane-Lôn and Uparit as to how Binnya Thane and his son were to be dealt with. The Zinmè noble wanted to send them to Hanthawadi while Uparit desired to keep them in Maing-San. Binnya Thane-Lôn appealed to the other three Binnyas, and being supported by them, they decided to take the two captives to Hanthawadi. The usurper and his son having been secured, the four Binnyas returned to Zinmè. The new King of Linzin presented each of them with an elephant complete with trappings and ten cloaks, and each of the four lieutenants with a pony complete with saddle and bridle and five viss of silver. From Zinmè, Binnya Gyan, Binnya Paran and Binnya Brè went to Hanthawadi with the unfortunate Binnya Thane and his son under a strong escort. As his Burman Majesty was still in Mogaung the two captives were sent up to where he was, and on arrival they were released from custody and allowed to remain in His Majesty's camp with comparative liberty and freedom.

The Maha Upayaza and the King of Ava who had been ordered to go in pursuit of the Sawbwa of Mogaung were recalled, as it was found impossible for the pursuers to proceed without very great hardship in a mountainous country where the passes were blocked with snow drifts and the mists and fog did not clear up till noon. King Kyawdin Nawrata left Mogaung with his whole army on Saturday the 3rd. of waning

Kasôn 938 (May, A. D. 1576), arriving at Ava on Saturday the 9th. of waning Nayôn (June). After staying only two days at Ava he came down by river and arrived at Hanthawadi on Wednesday the 12th of waning Wazo 938 (July, A. D. 1576). About ten days after his return to the capital he assigned a place of residence for Binnya Thane and his son, who were maintained in a manner befitting their rank.

The three Binnyas who brought Binnya Thane and his son safely to Hanthawadi were duly rewarded. They then told their sovereign about the altercation between Binnya Thane Lôn and Uparit concerning the treatment of the usurper and his son. His Burman Majesty was highly pleased with the Zinmè nobleman's conduct in the matter, and to show that he appreciated the loyalty and devotion evinced by Binnya Thane Lôn, presents consisting of costly silk, woollen and cotton cloths were sent to him.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same.

A. D. 1574.

The levy of another army to carry out this project⁽¹⁾ was commenced, but the people, and even those in high office, murmured loudly, and the expedition was postponed. But the king of kings was not to be entirely thwarted in his grand designs. After the rainy season he himself led an army, with Ubarit in his retinue, to Maingzan. From that post he issued a proclamation that he had come to place the rightful heir on the throne. He then departed, leaving some troops with the tributary king. The object of the expedition was attained. The nobleman who had usurped the throne of Laos had become hated, and was delivered up, together with his son, by his own officers. Ubarit was received by the people as king; and the Burmese commanders, rejoicing to quit a country where they gained neither fame nor riches, returned with their prisoners to Zimmè.

**Revolt of the
northern Shans.**

While affairs in Laos were prospering, another march to Monyin and Mogaung had become imperative. These restive states had refused to join the last expedition to Lengzeng, and were in open revolt. Bureng Naung proceeded from Maingzan to Ava, from whence he marched north against the rebellious chiefs. The prince of Monyin was killed, but the ruler of Mogaung fled; and though the royal troops followed in rapid pursuit to a tract of country where there was only snow for water, he was not captured. Bureng Naung, while still engaged in that northern region,

(1) Placing Ubarit on the throne of Linzin. Thien.

had the usurper from Laos and his family forwarded to him as an exhibition to the northern Shans of his success and power. But the desired effect was not attained, and the king of kings, recalling his son and the other officers from the pursuit, returned to his capital.

III.

INTRODUCTION.

Soon after King Kyawdin Nawrata's return from Mogaung and Mo-hnyin, there arrived at the port of Patheingyi (Eng. Bassein) on Monday the 3rd of waning second Wazo 938 (A. D. 1576), two vessels despatched by King Dhammapala of Theingyi island (Ceylon), one conveying the tooth relic of Buddha, and the other, presents for the King of Burma. The sacred relic was accorded a reception befitting the veneration and esteem in which it was held by a Buddhist monarch. The object of King Dhammapala's mission was to secure the aid of the Burmese sovereign to subdue three other Kings, namely, Kuti, Khanti, and Thidawet, among whom and King Dhammapala, the island of Ceylon was divided into four independent states. King Dhammapala's argument was that his contemporaries upheld paganism and persecuted the religion of Buddha. Acting on the advice of his ministers His Burman Majesty ordered the despatch, under competent and discreet commanders, of a force of 2500 men chosen for their valour, daring, fierceness and invulnerability from such weapons as swords, spears, and arrows. It may be interesting here to note how this small force was made up, to show its composite nature. It contained 100 men each of the natives of the following places viz, Yodaya (Ayuthia), Tanintharyi (Tenassarim), Linzin, Kyaingto, Kathé (Manipur), Dawé (Tavoy), Maing-maw, Sikwin, Tayok (China) and 500 each of Shan Salôns, Talaings (Mons) and Burmans. (1) This small force sailed in five vessels and simply overawed the people of Ceylon by simulating great ferocity by

(1) The total of these comes to only 2400, but such inaccuracies are of very frequent occurrence in the Hmannan History.

devouring raw meat and displaying feats of skill with the weapons of war. The expedition was a complete success, the three heretical kings undertaking to support Buddhism.

In the year 938, one Binnya Bat, governor of Patalipôt, a town within the territories of Linzin, arrived at Hanthawadi together with his family and retainers, forsaking his governorship and deserting the town. This same nobleman had once before, during the lifetime of King Bra-sè-zit of Linzin, forsaken his post and gone to Hanthawadi, on which occasion King Kyawdin Nawrata made him governor of Zagyo, a town within the territory of Yodaya. He then accompanied His Burman Majesty when the latter marched to Linzin to place Uparit on the throne. At the close of the expedition he was given the governorship of his old town of Patalipôt which apparently he did not think worth his while, or secure enough to hold for long, because, as mentioned above, he again left for Hanthawadi. The reasons he gave His Burman Majesty for his forsaking the town is worthy of a diplomat of those days. He said he did not value his position, power and prosperity in an outlying insignificant place, because were he to die there, his dying thoughts would be demeritorious and he would be born in one of the four "apāyas"; whereas were he to breathe his last in such a magnificent capital as Hanthawadi where Buddhism was well established and in full splendour, and under the beneficent protection of a most powerful king, he would be lifted to the world of the gods. How widely different are the reasons given above from those which he gave to his own friends, and which most probably were the real ones, may be seen when, on one occasion, he answered their question as to why he left Patalipôt, by saying that when Bra-sè-zit was alive he left it although he was not on bad terms with the King of Linzin, because he had a sort of premonition that further residence there

would cause his ruin ; that he had been wise in being guided by that warning, and deserting the place in time and seeking shelter in Hanthawadi, became evident when not long afterward Linzin was overrun by the Burmese troops, and destruction and desolation reigned supreme everywhere ; that he and Uparit had grown up together and therefore knew each other well, and he found further that the family of Uparit as a whole was devoid of any sense of gratitude ; that Uparit was only a dependent and tributary King, and being such must possess virtues necessary for good government, otherwise he was sure to bring ruin on him and on all those connected with him. The discerning nobleman presaged disaster to Linzin and her King within the next two or three years.

It will be remembered that at the close of the punitive expedition to Chiengmai in the year 927 (A. D. 1565) King Kyawdin Nawrata requested the King of Chiengmai to accompany him to Hanthawadi, leaving the government in the hands of Maha-dewi the queen.⁽¹⁾ She must have continued to reign till the year 940 (A. D. 1578, when on Wednesday the 5th of waxing Tabodwè (February) she died. The two chief nobles of Chiengmai Binnya Thane-lôn and Binnya Thanlan, arrived soon after in Hanthawadi to report of the death of the queen, bringing with them the regalia used by the deceased queen, and two good elephants as a present.

King Kyawdin Nawrata assembled his sons and nobles, and having explained to them the importance of the kingdom of Zimmè (Chiengmai) asked them as to who, among his sons and brothers, would be most fit to ascend the throne of Zimmè. The

(1) Vide page 37 Siam Society Journal Vol. V. part I.

Maha Upayaza, who on this occasion acted as spokesman, said that the Kings of Prome, Toungoo, and Ava were the right men in the right places and they could not be taken away from their respective positions, without detriment to the general peace and welfare of the whole empire which was maintained by the wholesome fear instilled by them in their neighbours, the Arakanese on the west and the Shans on the north and east. The Maha Upayaza suggested that His Majesty's son Nawratazaw, who was then governor of Tharrawaddy, should be offered the throne of Zimmè, pointing out that the governorship of a town was wholly inadequate for his ability and sterling qualities; that as the territory of Zimmè was contiguous with those of Yodaya, Linzin, Kyaing-rôn, Kyaing-tôn and other Shan states a strong hand was necessary to govern it, and Nawratazaw was the right man, as he would be able to instil fear in the Kings of Yodaya and Linzin, and thus keep them faithful and loyal to His Supreme Majesty of Hanthawadi for generations to come. King Kyawdin Nawrata, who was well aware of the fact that among persons of royal descent, ties of relationship, whether of blood or of marriage, counted for nothing, when they tried to attain their ambition for personal aggrandisement and territorial extension, then said that Nawratazaw would not long enjoy the favour conferred by him, if Maha Upayaza also was not willing to show favour equally.

On Wednesday the 5th of waxing Tabaung (March) 940 (A. D. 1578) while giving audience to the assembled ministers and nobles including the Maha Upayaza, in the grand hall of justice in the royal palace, His Majesty of Hanthawadi publicly announced to them that he conferred the kingdom of Zimmè on Nawratazaw. On the same day His Majesty called Nawratazaw to

the council chamber of the palace and advised him saying that the country of Haribônza (Pāli-Haribhūṇca) with its capital Zinmè was acquired by him through his might and power; the country of the Burmans, Talaings, or Shans could not be compared with it; the territories over which the Kings of Prome Toungoo, and Ava ruled fell short of that of Zinmè, both in extent and in the number of towns and provinces; the kingdom possessed good ministers and an efficient army, and it was very improbable it would be easily overcome by a foreign foe in the future; even such a kingdom he had conferred on Nawratazaw at the solicitation of Maha Upayaza, the crown prince, who should therefore be regarded by Nawratazaw as master, father, and brother; that if in disregard of this injunction, and acting on the evil advice of mischievous persons, were he to bring about an estrangement and discord between himself and his brother, the people of Yodaya, and Linzin, and the dark-skinned Kôn⁽¹⁾ people would give trouble; should peace be thus destroyed the splendour of Buddha's religion would fade, the people both priests and laymen would suffer, welfare both temporal and spiritual would be destroyed, and he would find his future existence cast in one of the four "apāyas"; if on the other hand, were he to remember the injunction and abide by it, continued prosperity, long life and happy future state would be his reward. Having finished with his advice on policy, His Burman Majesty went on to that of personal conduct, and requested Nawratazaw to support and maintain such of His Majesty's favourite servants both men and women as might seek his protection, and not to show them the cold shoulder when he was no more; he instructed the young man to address Binnya Zapan, Binnya Lauk, and Binnya Nan of Zinmè as paternal elder

(1) Probably the Cambodians, the Khom or Khams of the Siamese.

uncles (uncle who is the elder brother of the father), Binnya Thane-lôn as paternal younger uncle (uncle who is the younger brother of the father), and to call Binnya Lagon, Binnya Kyaing-thune, Binnya Kwin, and Binnya Turaing elder brothers; he told Nawratazaw not to covet ponies and elephants belonging to them, to prohibit his relatives and personal servants from extorting the people, and to collect crown dues, royalties, assessments, taxes, tolls, and duty etc. only in accordance with prevailing custom.

Three days before Nawratazaw took his departure from Hanthawadi to assume charge of his new appointment as tributary King, His Majesty of Hanthawadi invited eleven learned head priests to a "sala" on the west side of Maha-Zedi pagoda erected by him, and in their presence gave the following injunction to his two sons, Maha Upaya and Nawratazaw. He asked Maha Upayaza to look upon Nawratazaw as a servant and a brother, and the latter to regard his brother as master, brother, and father; for he said that it was only when they two loved and regarded each other in the manner enjoined by him, could the empire which he had consolidated after many years of arduous labour and hard fighting, remain whole and undivided; then only could the meritorious and religious foundations instituted by him after many years of patient work continue to flourish, and the welfare of Buddha's religion and the prosperity of the people go on increasing; otherwise, the disintegration of the empire was inevitable, and the decline of his patient work in the cause of Buddhism was certain, and thereupon the peace, prosperity and well-being of the people would be destroyed. His Majesty then took off two rings from his finger and gave one each to his two sons, enjoining them to wear them always as mementoes, and saying that in future when external foes or internal enemies threatened them, or tried to sow discord between

them, to look at the ring and recollect the injunction he had given on that occasion, and thereby try and appease any feeling of enmity or hostility that might have arisen in them. He asked the priests assembled there to make note of what he then said. He advised Nawratazaw not to be too free in speech in the presence of the Zimmè nobles thinking they were only " Lawas " by race, because if he were too outspoken he might unwittingly hurt their feelings.

On Thursday the 9th of waning Kasôn 941 (May A. D. 1579) Nawratazaw left Hanthawadi for Zimmè together with his retinue. At Tulaung on the way, his wife gave birth to a son who was therefore named Tulaung Prince. He was detained in consequence about ten days. On Thursday the 10th of waxing second Wazo (August) he arrived at Zimmè and ascended the throne.

Thus, according to the Burmese chronicles a prince of Hanthawadi ruled at Chieugmai as tributary King to His Majesty of Hanthawadi.

Sir A. D. Phayre's account of the same narrative.

**A pseudo-relic
received from
Ceylon.**

At the very moment of his return to Pegu, Bureng Naung received intelligence which gratified his religious aspirations, and enhanced his glory as a Buddhist king throughout Indo-China. He had long been in communication with a Buddhist ruler in Ceylon, apparently Dharmapala who reigned at Colombo, and professed to be a Christian, having the baptismal name of Don Juan. (1) Two years before, a Sinhalese princess had arrived, and had been received with high honour, though the Portuguese historian asserts, that the lady sent was only a daughter of the chamberlain. Now, at an auspicious moment, when the king of kings returned triumphant from war, a ship arrived from Ceylon at Bassein, with the holy tooth of Goadama Buddha. As the season was unfavourable for the ship to sail into the gulf of Martaban, a deputation of the highest nobles in the land was sent to receive the precious relic. They bore a golden vase, adorned with the richest gems, the spoil of vanquished kings in which it was deposited, and brought to the royal presence. A letter was also received from Dhamapala, in which he announced that he was the only orthodox king of four, who ruled in the island. It may be doubted whether Bureng Naung really believed in the genuineness of the relic, but the possession of a pseudo-tooth which

(1) His authority was confined to Colombo, his grand-uncles having possession of the rest of his dominions. He died A. D. 1581, and by will, left the King of Portugal heir to his kingdom. Tennent's Ceylon, vol. ii p. 13.

his many millions of subjects believed in, was of the highest importance. Indeed, the first and immediate good result was the surrender of the young chief of Mogaung, which was attributed to the occult influence of the holy tooth, in favour of its royal custodian and worshipper. So munificently did he reward the King of Colombo, that according to the Portuguese historian, the king of Kandy offered him a true daughter and tooth. The real tooth, which had been taken at Jaffna in 1560, had been destroyed by Don Constantine, the Viceroy of India, although Bureng Naung had then offered a sum equivalent of £41,000 sterling to ransom it. But, as stated by Fariay Sousa, two teeth were sent up instead of that one, and the king of Pegu was now content with that he had secured.

**Bureng Naung
appoints his son
to be tributary
king of Zimme,
March,
A. D. 1578.**

In order to strengthen his position towards Lengzeng Bureng Naung appointed his son, Tharawadi Meng, who had shown great ability, tributary king of Zimmè. When he had left for his kingdom, the king his father, as if foreseeing future troubles, enjoined him to remember that he would owe allegiance to his elder brother, the Yuva Rājā. He received the title of Nonrahtā Zon.

IV.

About the time that Nawratazaw was appointed tributary King of Zinmè, affairs in Linzin had not been running smoothly. What Binnya Bat, governor of Patalipôt, had foreseen and foretold some three years ago was about to come true. The relations between Uparit and his chief nobles were getting more and more strained owing to his undue partiality for those of his own kith and kin, until at last they broke out in open rebellion. They gave out that Bra-Sè-Zit, who had been killed in the attack on Lawaik, was still alive and had come back to take possession of the throne. All the disaffected nobles and wealthy people left the capital and assembled in camp in a dense forest. Uparit was probably powerless to compel them to submission with the few who were mostly his relatives that had remained with him. A report of the state of affairs was sent to Hauthawadi. King Kyawdin Nawrata assembled his sons and nobles and asked them what they thought of the affairs in Linzin. Binnya Law said that Uparit had disregarded His Majesty's advice to govern the country with justice and impartiality, and had consequently given offence to the principal nobles of the state; that if an expedition were to be despatched under the command of His Majesty's brothers and sons, the disaffected nobles would not dare to resist, the only apprehension was that operations might be prolonged by their taking advantage of the vast tract of wild and inhospitable country to keep themselves out of sight. His Majesty then asked the Maha Upayaza to take the command of the expedition so as to bring the trouble to a speedy end. The Maha Upayaza replied that even if His Majesty were to order him to invade China, he would not hesitate a moment, to which King Kyawdin Nawrata responded that he was getting old and any expedition undertaken by the Maha Upayaza would be only for his own benefit.

There were twenty-four brigades, with a total force of 1,200 elephants, 12,000 horse and 220,000 men, engaged in this expedition. The auxiliaries from Yodaya were a brigade each under Oya Thauk-katè, Oya Peikthalauk, Oya Thawunnalauk, Oya Peikse and Oya Kamanpaik; those from Zimè were seven brigades under Binnya Thane-lou, Binnya Thanlan, Binnya Turaing, Binnya Lagun, Binnya Nan, Binnya Pri and Binnya Kwin. The forces from the capital started on 12th of waning Thadingyut (hula Sakkaraj 941 (October, A. D. 1579), and the auxiliaries from Yodaya and Zimè must have joined the Burmese forces at convenient places on the line of march. On arrival at Maing-san, Uparit came with his forces and met the Maha Upayaza. Having learnt from Uparit the full details of what had occurred, the Maha Upayaza accompanied by Uparit proceeded to Maing-kaung and Maing-Paing where the rebellious nobles were then assembled. Not daring to make a stand against such a strong army, some of the nobles fled and some surrendered to the Maha Upayaza. Those who surrendered took the oath of allegiance and were permitted to resume possession of their estates and charge of their offices. Those who fled were pursued by several columns in different directions, but owing to the extent of the country the pursuit was attended with very little success. The Maha Upayaza very wisely decided not to press the pursuit; and so having administered the oath of allegiance to all the nobles in Linzin, including those who had come in and surrendered there, he returned to Hanthawadi taking with him over fifty nobles who were captured in the pursuit, and Bra Kyaw, daughter of Bra-Sè-Zit. The expeditionary force arrived at Hanthawadi on Sunday the 8th of waxing Tagu 942 (April, A. D. 1580). The captives were presented to His Burman Majesty, who was highly pleased with the success which attended the expedition. The Maha Upayaza

and his lieutenants were suitably rewarded.

Towards the close of the same year King Kyawdin Nawrata had several copies of the "Tripitaka," and the commentaries, made by priests learned in the Buddhist Scriptures, and a copy each was sent to the following places, viz. Yodaya, Thaukkatè, Peikthalauk, Taninthari (Touasserin), Dawè (Tavoy), Amyawadi, Linzin Akyaw, Lawaik, Zimmè, Kyaingrôn, Kyaingtôn, Kyaingthaue, Monè, Nyang-ywe, Thibaw, Onbauung, Theinni, Momeik Mogaung, Mohnyin Sagaing, Pagan, Charekittara, Ketumadi, and Thayawadi. A copy of the "Tripitaka" together with the commentaries was also sent to Ceylon.

King Kyawdin Nawrata's ambition must have been limitless or his energy inexhaustible, for as soon as affairs in Linzin quieted down, he conceived the idea of the conquest of Arakan (Ra-kaing). On the pretext of encroachment into Burmese territory by the King of Arakan, which probably was no more than a border raid so very common in tracts inhabited by wild tribes, His Burman Majesty found a ready excuse to invade Arakan. On the 5th of waning Tazatungmôn 942 (November, A. D. 1580) he despatched a flotilla of 800 sailing vessels and 200 small boats, with a force of 80,000 men to go and occupy Thandwè. Then on Monday the 1st of waxing Thadingyut of the following year, one column consisting of eleven brigades containing in all 600 elephants, 8,000 horse, 120,000 men under the command of his son Thiri Thudamayaza (sīri Sudhammarājā) governor of Môtama (Martaban) was sent in one direction, and another column of the same number of brigades and the same number of forces under the command of his son-in law Minyè Kyawdin was despatched in another direction, both making their way to Thandwè. There, while preparations were being made for a combined march on the capital

of Arakan by land and by water, news of the sudden death of King Kyawdin Nawrata was received. The project was immediately abandoned, and the two generals returned with their army, the forces which had gone by water returning by the same route.

King Kyawdin Nawrata, who bore the regal title of Sīri Taribhavanādityā Pavara Paṇḍita Sudhammarājā Mahādhipati, was born on Wednesday the 12th. of waxing Tabodwè Chula Sakkaraj 877 (February, A. D. 1515). At the age of nineteen he was given in marriage to a sister of Mintara Shweti his predecessor, and the title of Kyawdin Nawrata was then conferred on him. Three years later, the title of Bayin Naung (elder brother of the King) was added to his former title. In the year 911, and at the age of 34 years he assumed sovereign authority at Ketumadi (Toungoo), and two years later, was crowned Supreme King at Hanthawadi having, in the meantime, subdued rival claimants to the supreme sway in succession to Mintara Shweti. His reign lasted thirty-two years, two at Ketumadi and thirty at Hanthawadi. After a sudden illness, he entered the city of the "Nats" (devas) on Tuesday the full moon day of Tazaungmón Chula Sakkaraj 943 (November, A. D. 1581). When he was about to die, the Mahazedi pagoda, built by him, and the Kyailko pagoda sent out an effulgence, so great a flood arose that boats could be used within the city, a rain of precious stones fell at a place called Depathwè, the mountains gave off vapour and dew fell heavily.

King Kyawdin Nawrata had a numerous progeny, by his three chief queens he had three sons and three daughters, and by his lesser queens thirty-five sons and fifty-six daughters; among these lesser queens, mention is made of two daughters of the Chief of Zinrôn, three ladies who were natives of Linzin, one who was a native of Zinmè, and a younger sister of Bra Narit, King of Yodaya.

Sir A. D. Phayre's account of the same narrative.

In the following year it was necessary once more to send aid to Ubarit in Lengzeng. The heir apparent was sent to support the King of Zimmè, and the expedition was successful. From this time Laos as a tributary state is not mentioned in Burmese history.

Preparation to invade Arakan.

The great king of kings had now subdued all the countries which had occupied his attention during many years. Instead of resting and giving relief to his subjects, he turned his glance on Arakan. He determined that the king of that country should be reduced to the position his ancestors had held towards the ancient kings of Burma. A large fleet of vessels of various sizes was collected, in which an army amounting, with the crews, to eighty thousand men, was embarked. The fleet happened to be met by some Portuguese ships which were cruising near Cape Negrais. The Viceroy being then at war with Pegu, probably on account of the king's interference in the affairs of Ceylon, the ships attacked the Peguan or Burmese fleet, which they estimated at thirteen hundred sail. The Portuguese took some of the enemy, but were obliged to withdraw on account of the great number opposed to them. The Burmese fleet then continued its course, and the army disembarked at a point on the southern coast of Arakan, where the men were landed and marched to Sandoway. There the Burmese army remained inactive for twelve months. Probably Bureng Naung intended to lead the march on the capital,

**November, A. D.
1580.**

but found his health unequal to the exertion. To the last, he had not abandoned his design against **October, A. D. 1581,** Arakan, for reinforcements were sent on. The Burmese history states that he deputed ambassadors to the Emperor Akbar. This may possibly refer to the governor of Bengal after that province had been conquered by Akbar's general in 1576, and the object probably was to ascertain whether his occupation of Arakan would be viewed as an act of hostility to the Mogul emperor. But the plan of conquest of Arakan was suddenly frustrated by the death of **Death of Bureng Naung, November, A. D. 1581.** Bureng Naung, after he had reigned for thirty years.

V.

On Sunday the 5th of waning Tazaungmôn 943 (November, A. D. 1581), five days after the death of King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, his son Maha Upayaza ascended the throne of Hanthawadi. On the same day the King appointed his son Minkyi-zwa, crown prince with the title of Maha Upayaza. As usual on such occasions, honours, titles, rewards of offices with their concomitant insignia and gifts for the enjoyment of the tithes or revenues of certain villages and towns were showered on such as had gained the goodwill and favour of the new Sovereign. He is known by the name of Ngazu Dayaka but he will be more often referred to as King of Hanthawadi.

The vassal kings were probably called upon to come and pay homage as evidence for their loyalty, because in Nayôn 944 (June, A. D. 1582) Bra Narit King of Yodaya, arrived in Hanthawadi and paid homage

Matters though apparently very trifling have often resulted in serious and far-reaching consequences ; and this is exemplified by what is chronicled in the Hmannan History. The new Upayaza had two principal wives, one was his cousin the daughter of the King of Ava, and the other was his half sister who was full sister of Nawratazaw the King of Zimmè and also of Thiri Thudamayaza (Sīri Sudhammarājā) governor of Mōttama. He must have been somewhat partial in his favours to the latter, and this no doubt roused the jealousy of the former. The Upayaza and his fair cousin probably had a quarrel over this matter, and in the scuffle that ensued the lady's forehead collided with the edge of the couch, drawing blood. She took the incident to heart, carefully packed and sealed the cloth with which she wiped away the blood and sent

it to her father at Ava, together with a letter saying that the Upayaza bestowed undue favour on Nawratzaw's sister, while she herself was ignored, slighted, and ill-treated. She found a ready sympathiser in her mother who gradually worked on her husband's mind and finally succeeded in making him take steps to be independent of his suzerain and brother-in law. He asked the Shan chiefs whether they would side with him or with His Majesty of Hanthawadi. These petty chiefs, at no time truly loyal to the authority at Hanthawadi declared they would throw in their lot with Ava.

Having already secured the support of the Shan chiefs, the King of Ava thought of weakening the power of Hanthawadi by inducing the Kings of Toungoo, Prome, and Zimmè either to join him or to declare themselves independent. Accordingly, in Wazo 945 (July A. D. 1583) he sent messengers to the three kings openly declaring his intention, and asking what would be their attitude toward him and his design. The three kings proved faithful to their suzerain, and each sent the messenger that was sent him, to His Majesty of Hanthawadi, who thus came to know for certain that his brother-in-law was actively hostile to him. He lost no time in taking the necessary steps to march on to Ava. On the advice of one of his nobles who thought that the co-operation of the Kings of Toungoo and Prome only might not be sufficient to effect the subjugation of the misguided King of Ava, especially as it was rightly surmised that the Shan chiefs and the governors of the towns in the north would be on the side of Ava, he sent orders to Yodaya, Linzin, and Zimmè to come with their forces as quickly as possible and co-operate in the expedition. The forces from Zimmè and Linzin were ordered to march straight on to Ava via Moudè. He left Hanthawadi on the full-moon day of Tagu 945 (April A. D. 1584) leaving the Maha Upayaza in

charge of the capital.

The details of the fight between the suzerain and his vassal, described at great length in the Hmannan history, need not be given here, suffice it to say that there was no battle between the opposing armies, but a personal encounter between His Majesty of Hanthawadi and the King of Ava, in which the latter was worsted, and obliged to flee to Chinese territory with a following of about 2,000 men. The unfortunate king fell ill on the way and died at a place called Kanti.

Bra Narit, King of Yodaya, did not show much promptitude in obeying the orders of His Majesty of Hanthawadi. He came with an army of twelve brigades consisting of 300 elephants, 3,000 horse and 60,000 men, and arrived at Sittaung long after the King of Hanthawadi had marched to Ava. Then, instead of proceeding in the direction of Ava, he veered round towards Hanthawadi. The Maha Upayaza sent word to him to march on to Ava, but he persisted in his march on to Hanthawadi. This action of King Bra Narit must have frightened the Maha Upayaza, and he accordingly took the precaution of repairing the defences of the city, mounting additional guns and maintaining a strong guard, and keeping a vigilant watch over the movements of the Siamese King. Bra Narit encamped very near the city, and most probably intended to make an assault, when he received news of the return of the King of Hanthawadi. He broke up camp and returned by way of Môtama, capturing and taking away with him many men from the towns to the East of Hanthawadi.

When news of the suspicious conduct of Bra Narit reached His Burman Majesty he immediately despatched from Ava four brigades with a force of 400 elephants, 4000 horse and 50,000 men to go in quick pursuit of the Siamese Monarch. He then returned

to his capital, and on his arrival, a reinforcement of seven brigades with a force of 500 elephants, 5000 horse and 70,000 men was sent under the command of Maha Upayaza. The two forces united near Yodaya and encamped at a place called Sôtkali to the north of the Siamese capital. King Bra Narit came out from the city, fought and defeated the Burmese army which was forced to retire. News of the defeat reached Hanthawadi, and His Majesty recalled his son, giving as reasons for the recall, that the forces were insufficient, that Yodaya was a city very difficult to capture, and that the rains were approaching.

To retrieve the defeat thus suffered by the Burmese at the hands of the Siamese, the King of Hanthawadi sent another expedition under the command of his son the Maha Upayaza, in Tagu 947 (April A. D. 1586). The invading army on that occasion consisted of nineteen brigades with a total force of 1000 elephants, 10,000 horse and 120,000 men. Zinnè must have continued to support Hanthawadi, for mention is made of the presence, among the nineteen brigades, of those under Binnya Thane-lôn, Binnya Thanlan, Binnya Nan and Binnya Turaing. When the Burmese army reached a place called Lagun, King Bra Narit of Yodaya came out with an army of fifteen brigades to oppose the enemy in their march. His vanguard, composed of five brigades, was attacked by four brigades of the Burmese which probably were also the vanguard of the Burmese army. The Siamese were forced to retire, and they fell back on Sôtkali which had been strongly fortified. The Burmese followed up their conquest to the stronghold of the Siamese. At this first encounter and the subsequent pursuit the Burmese captured over thirty elephants and over 200 men. The Burmese attempted twice to storm the fort but failed to make any impression on the stronghold or its defenders; in fact they must have been worsted in their attempt, for they ascribed the reason of their failure to take it to the very great number of guns

effectively employed in the defence. Having failed to capture it by storm there was no other alternative for the Burmese but to encamp and wait further developments. After about a month, the Maha Upayaza called a council and said that they were unable to take the fort by storm and the Siamese refused to attack them; that if matters went on in that way they would get the worst of it, because provisions would be exhausted in time, the army would be starved, and it would then be very difficult even to get the army out of the country in safety. The Maha Upayaza suggested to send a message to the enemy asking them to come out and measure strength in open battle. To this Binnya Thane-lôn replied that it was impossible to attack and defeat them, first, because the fort was very strong, secondly, the moats were very wide, thirdly, the enemy's weapons of offence and defence were numerous, and fourthly, King Bra Narit's nobles and officers feared him more than death itself. As regards the question of asking them to give battle, it was highly improbable they would do so, considering they would lose nothing by waiting; whereas further delay meant starvation to the Burmese. The Zimmè noble asked whether it would not be advisable to feign retreat, and thus draw the enemy out of their stronghold. The Maha Upayaza approved of the idea and accordingly withdrew his forces as if to retreat. It is surprising that such an idea had not occurred to the Maha Upayaza before; judging from this he could not have been a very resourceful general of an invading army, though he might have been a brave man. King Bra Narit followed with all his forces. On the approach of the Siamese, the Burmese forces were arrayed in the following battle order:—six brigades containing 800 elephants, 4,000 horse and 60,000 men were placed on the right. These brigades were under the command of Baya-Kamani, Nanda-Kyawdin, Binnya Gyandaw, Thamein (Sming) Rethinran, Thamein Lagun-ein, and Binnya Thane-lôn. Another

six brigades of the same number of forces under the commanders, Binnya Paran Nanda Thuriya, Thamein Thangyè, Thiri Damathawka, Binnya Nan, and Binnya Law, were on the left. In the centre was the Maha Upayaza himself, with a force of seven brigades containing 400 elephants, 4000 horse, and 60,000 men.⁽¹⁾ Besides him there were six other brigade commanders—Thetshi Kyawdin, Binnya Pyi, Thiri Zeya Kyawdin, Binnya Bat, Binnya Thalan and Binnya Turaing.

King Bra Narit must have been no ordinary general, for he discerned in an instant that the position of the right wing of the enemy was strong, and that of the left, weak. Like a skilful general and an experienced fighter, he concentrated his attack first on the weak point of the Burmese, the left wing, which was entirely put to rout. Having disposed of the left wing beyond any chance of rallying, he turned his attention to the centre, where also he succeeded in forcing the Maha Upayaza and his six commanders to retire. Lastly, he attacked the right wing, but finding the position unassailable, he retired taking with him the prisoners of war he had secured from the left and the centre of the Burmese. The Burmese right, though able to maintain its ground, had not the spirit and energy to retrieve the honours of the day, such must have been the moral effect of the defeat of the left and the centre. When the Siamese forces retired, the Burmese commanders gathered in their scattered forces and asked the Maha Upayaza to return, though not recalled by his father. He readily assented, and arrived at Hantawadi in Wagaung 948 (August A. D. 1586).

The King of Hantawadi must have felt great anxiety about the rising power of Yodaya, and must have

(1) The total of the infantry given here is 180,000, whereas it is stated above that it consisted of 120,000 men only. But inaccuracies of this kind are very common in the Hmannan History.

been greatly troubled in mind also, owing to the repeated failure to subdue her king and retain her in her former position of a tributary kingdom. Only about three months after the arrival at Hanthawadi, of the Maha Upayaza who had suffered a signal defeat at the hands of King Bra Narit of Yodaya, the Burmese King assembled his ministers and nobles and asked them to suggest the best means to subdue Yodaya. Binnya Gyandaw replied that it was of paramount importance to humble Yodaya, otherwise the kingdoms of Linzin, Maingsan, Akyaw, and Lawaik would also strive to throw off the Burman supremacy: that only in the subjugation of Yodaya lay the hope of keeping the empire, which his august father had consolidated, whole and entire: and that therefore it behoved His Burman Majesty to conduct the invasion in person. Having approved of the idea of leading an army himself, the King of Hanthawadi mobilised a vast army composed of twenty four brigades, containing 3200 elephants, 12,000 horse, and 252,000 men, and left Hanthawadi on Sunday the 9th of waxing Tazaungmôn 948 (November A. D. 1586), leaving his son the Maha Upayaza in charge of the capital. Among the twenty four brigades there were four from Zinmè under Binnya Thane-lôn, Binnya Nan, Binnya Brè, and Binnya Turaing.

As soon as King Bra Narit of Yodaya heard of the coming of King of Hanthawadi with a vast army, he gathered in all available provisions from the provinces, and summoned all the efficient and good fighting men to his capital, to be fully prepared to withstand a siege. His Burman Majesty arrived and made several assaults, but was repulsed every time with considerable casualties, owing to the numerous guns and other weapons of offence effectively employed by the Siamese. He then settled down to besiege the city by surrounding it with his vast army. The siege was ineffectual owing to the great width of the rivers and streams, and to the

fact that the besieged could easily communicate with the people outside the city, and thereby obtain what they needed. After a siege of about five months, instead of the besieged being compelled to surrender for want of provisions, the besiegers found they had run short of provisions. Moreover, sickness, more dreadful than any human foe, visited the Burmese army and claimed many victims. Having found out the weakened state of the besiegers, the King of Yodaya made several sorties and night-attacks, always inflicting severe losses. When the losses suffered by the Burmese in these attacks became more and more numerous, and when their provisions were almost exhausted, the King of Hanthawadi called a council of war and said that repeated assault had only resulted in increasing casualties on their side, and the siege had failed in its object in that, owing to the great width of the rivers and streams, communication between the besieged and their friends outside could not be effectually stopped, and consequently provisions and other necessities could be got into the city; that in warfare a strong force would naturally defeat a weak one, but that they could not be considered strong, owing to the prevalence of sickness in the army. He asked as to what would be the best thing to do in the circumstances. Thetshi Kyawdin, one of the brigade commanders, then told his Sovereign that although they had invested the city for about seven months there was no chance of capturing it, owing to its being very strongly built, and to the great width of the rivers and streams that surrounded it. He begged His Majesty to return, especially as the forces were in a very weakened condition due to want of provisions, and to make another attempt at the close of the rains, when the men and animals would have had sufficient rest, and when the co-operation of all the tributary kings could be requisitioned as well. His Burman Majesty yielded to the nobleman's request and better judgment, and with kind

consideration for the sick and wounded of his army, sent them ahead under the escort of Binnya Paran and his brigade, four days before he himself left Yodaya. On the 14th of waxing Kasôn 949 (May A. D. 1587) he raised the siege and started on his return journey, keeping the brigades under the King of Toungoo and his son Nat Shin Naung in the rear to cover the retreat. King Bra Narit of Yodaya would not allow his enemy to depart unmolested. He took out a force of fifteen brigades and followed harassing the retreating Burmans, until he arrived at Taraw Maing-det Indaw (Royal Lake), where he was fought and checked by the rear guard under the King of Toungoo and his son. The King of Yodaya returned from Indaw, and His Majesty of Hanthawadi proceeded thence unmolested, arriving at his capital on Tuesday the 4th. of waxing Wazo 949 (July A. D. 1587)

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same.

**Successor of
Bureng Nuang.**

On the death of Bureng Nuang, his eldest son, the Yuva Raja, succeeded to the throne without dispute. (1) He at once recalled the army from Sadoway. His uncles, the Kings of Prome and Taungu, came to Pegu and did homage, as also did the King of Siam. His uncle the King of Ava, Thadomengsoa, made excuses, and communicated with the kings of Prome and Taungu, endeavouring to draw them into a league for becoming independent of the supreme king. They disclosed the intrigue, and the supreme king suspecting that many of his officers had joined in a conspiracy against him, caused them, their wives, and children, to be burnt to death. This dreadful scene was witnessed by Gasparo Balbi, a Venetian merchant, who was in Pegu, and feelingly mentions his "great compassion and grief that little children, without any fault, should suffer such martyrdom."

A. D. 1583.

**Establishes his
authority in
Burman proper.**

May A. D. 1584.

The supreme king now marched on Ava, being joined with their forces by the kings of Prome and Taungu. Advancing up the valley of the Sittaung river, the army encamped near Panwa. A battle was fought, in which the uncle and nephew, each on his elephant, with a small body of followers, engaged in fierce combat. Though the elephant which the supreme king rode, fell exhausted, the rider instantly mounted another and gained the victory. The King of Ava fled from the field, and escaped over

(1) In the Talaing chronicle this king is called Nanda Bureng. In the Maha Raja Weng he is styled Gna su Daraga, and is surnamed Taungu Yauk Meng, from having been carried as prisoner to Taungu

the Chinese border, where he died soon after. The supreme king at first appointed a governor to Ava, but before long his son, Mengre Kyoaswa, was made tributary king.

Failure of invasion of Siam.

During this war the conduct of Byanarit, King of Siam, was first suspicious, and then openly hostile. He had been summoned as a vassal to attend his superior with his army. He appeared on the frontier near Sittaung, and the Yuva Rājā, who was regent during his father's absence, directed him to march on Ava. Instead of obeying this order, he came near the capital of Pegu and hovering about, menaced an attack. Hearing, however, of the victory of the supreme king, he retired to Martaban, and carried off from thence a number of the inhabitants into Siam.

(1) A force under the Yuva Rājā was sent to avenge this insult. The expedition was hastily planned and badly conducted. In marching down the banks of the Me Nam the Yuva Rājā was attacked by Byanarit, and forced to retreat with heavy loss. To retrieve this disaster the supreme king himself led an army, which invested Yuthia. But the son, though brave, lacked the great administrative qualities which had distinguished his father. The arrangements for the army were utterly defective. Thousands died from want

A. D. 1587.

June A. D. 1587. and exposure. No hope of success remained and a disastrous retreat was made. The king reached his capital with a small escort.

(1) These events appear to be referred to in the history of Siam as having occurred A. D. 1564. Bowring's Siam, vol. i p. 52.

VI.

In Thadingyut 950 (October A. D. 1588) King Uparit of Linzin died. The news reached the King of Hanthawadi in due course, and he made preparations to appoint one of his younger sons as King of Linzin. But in the Nadaw (December) following, before he had despatched his son, the King of Prome died ; and the king-elect of Linzin was offered the kingdom of Prome. It is not mentioned who was raised to the throne of Linzin in succession to Uparit.

About three years after the disastrous retreat of the King of Hanthawadi from Yodaya, the Sawbwa of Mogaung rebelled, and a council was called to discuss the manner of dealing with the rebellion. The question of the rebellious conduct of King Bra Narit of Yodaya was also raised, and Thirizeya Nawrata said that unless Yodaya was humbled and brought to subjection, there was great fear of the country of the Shans and Yuns rising in revolt. According to his advice, two expeditions were organized, one to Mogaung under the leadership of his son the King of Prome, consisting of thirteen brigades with a force of 500 elephants, 6000 horse, and 100,000 men ; and the other to Yodaya under the Maha Upayaza, consisting of twenty-four brigades with 1000 elephants, 10,000 horse, and 200,000 men.

The expedition to Yodaya left Hanthawadi on the 12th of waning Tazaungmônm 952 (November A. D. 1590), and that to Mogaung twenty-three days earlier. King Bra Narit of Yodaya went out and opposed the Burmese at Lagun. He placed the weak portion of his army on the road to Lagun to act as a decoy, while he himself with sixty nobles and sixty of his best elephants lay in ambush in the forest close by. The Maha Upayaza and his commanders, seeing the Siamese forces advanced in battle order and fought bravely on. The Siamese forces which acted as

decoy retreated followed by the unsuspecting Burmese, when at the right moment, Bra Narit came out from the ambushade and fought the enemy fiercely. The Burmese were put to utter rout, with a very heavy loss in killed and wounded. The governors of Pagan and Patheingyi (Bassein) fell into the hands of the Siamese. It was with difficulty that Maha Upayaza gathered in his scattered forces. He returned to Hanthawadi in haste and arrived in the month of Tagu (April 1591). He was reprimanded by his father, and his lieutenants were severely punished. The expedition to Mogaung was attended with better results, the Sawbwa being captured and brought to Hanthawadi.

Encouraged by the repeated defeat of the Burmese, King Bra Narit of Yodaya thought of taking a force to Hanthawadi. Accordingly, in the year 953 (A. D. 1591) he sent four brigades under Oya Win, Oya Thuwunnalauk, Oya Peikse, and Oya Peikthalauk with a force of 400 elephants, 4000 horse, and 50,000 men. When they arrived at a place called Win-yaw, news of the arrival was conveyed to Hanthawadi by outposts. His Majesty of Hanthawadi at once issued orders to the governor of Mottama to attack and intercept the Siamese. In compliance with this order, the governor of Mottama took out a force to Winyaw, where the Siamese had thrown up a rampart; and having found out that the Siamese forces were not numerous he made a vigorous assault. The Siamese could not hold the place, so they evacuated it in the night and beat a hasty retreat. The Burmese followed up the enemy for about three marches, but failing to overtake them, they returned. His Burman Majesty was highly pleased with the governor of Mottama who was suitably rewarded.

In the same year the King of Hanthawadi ordered all the gates, battlements, and towers of the city to be

demolished, and to be rebuilt on the model of those round the city of Yodaya.

In Nadaw of 954 (December, A. D. 1592), he called the Maha Upayaza, his other sons, nobles, and ministers to a council, and soundly reproached them saying that they all enjoyed his regal bounty without rendering strenuous service in return ; their want of zeal was the cause of the repeated failure to humble the young King of Yodaya ; had they been zealous and self-sacrificing, Bra Narit would have been in custody long ago. He exhorted them to make a supreme effort once more, even to the extent of sacrificing their lives. Binnya Law replied that the fighting strength of Yodaya was not even a quarter of that of Hanthawadi, but with all that, they had found it very hard to defeat the Siamese, for the reason that the authority of Bra Narit over his nobles was so great that when they came face to face with the enemy, they would rather sacrifice their lives than think of yielding ground ; that in war, success did not depend solely on numerical strength, the principal factors were valour and tactical skill. He then told his sovereign that His Majesty's two sons, the Maha Upayaza and the King of Prome, and Nat Shin Naung, son of the King of Toungoo, were possessed of both valour and tactical skill, and that if a large army were despatched under their command, there was hope of success.

Accordingly, a vast army was mobilized. It consisted of twenty-six brigades, and contained the following forces,—1500 elephants, 20,000 horse, and 240,000 men. From Ziamè came one brigade led by the King of Ziamè himself with Binnya Thanelôn, Binnya Nan, Binnya Brè and Binnya Turaing as assistants ; the King of Toungoo and his son led one brigade, and so did the King of Prome. The army left Hanthawadi on Wednesday the 7th, of waxing Nadaw 954 (December A. D. 1592) and arrived at

Yodaya on the 8th. of waxing Tabodwè (February A. D. 1598).

A battle was fought just outside the city. The Maha Upayaza was mounted on his elephant Sin-yè-pônzôn ; on his right was his brother the King of Prome with his forces, and on his left was Nat-Shin-Naung with his forces. At a short distance on the right was the governor of Zaparo, mounted on an elephant named Paukkyaw Zeya, in full " musth " at the time, and it was necessary to have its face covered with a piece of cloth. King Bra Narit of Yodaya came out of the city with his army. He was mounted on the elephant called Bra Labôn, and directly he caught sight of the Maha Upayaza, he led his elephant forward to the place where the Maha Upayaza was. The governor of Zaparo seeing the Siamese King coming forward, removed the cloth off his elephant's eyes, intending to intercept the Siamese Monarch, but the elephant, instead of charging the enemy, turned round on the elephant ridden by the Maha Upayaza and charged it so vigorously that the Maha Upayaza had to fight very hard to resist the onslaught of the almost maddened animal. The Maha Upayaza's elephant was severely wounded and disabled. At the same time, a shot from one of the guns of the enemy killed the Maha Upayaza, but he was held up by the rider behind him, while the elephant was made to lean against a tree, and it was thus prevented from falling down. King Bra Narit, not knowing that the Maha Upayaza was killed, hesitated to attack him. Then, Nat-Shin-Naung advanced on his elephant Upawthata, and attacked King Bra Narit who was forced to yield ground. When the Kings of Prome and Toungoo saw that Bra Narit was being forced back, they both bore down on him. The Siamese King hastily retreated and entered the city. The Burmese generals followed right up to the moat, two of them, the governors of Tônbo and Win-yaw, who were over-eager in their pursuit, were cap-

tured by the Siamese. Oya Bat and Oya Setki (Cakki) fell into the hands of the men under Nat-Shin-Naung. The Burmese then retreated to a distance of about two miles from the city, where a consultation was made among the Kings of Prome, Toungoo, and Zimmè, and other commanders, as to the advisability or otherwise of burying the Maha Upayaza then and there, and renewing the attack on Yodaya. The King of Prome said that as they had lost their chief it was unadvisable to return and attack Yodaya; besides, His Majesty of Hanthawadi would probably reprimand them for burying his son so unceremoniously. He recommended return to Hanthawadi, especially as they had not fared well at the outset. The Kings of Toungoo and Zimmè, as well as the other commanders, were of the same opinion. Accordingly, a quantity of quick-silver was poured into the dead body of the Maha Upayaza which was then put into a coffin made of the wood of the mango tree. The whole army returned carrying the corpse of their commander-in-chief, and arrived at Hanthawadi in Tabauing of the same year (March, A. D. 1593.) His Majesty of Hanthawadi and the chief queen, the mother of deceased, received the corpse in state, and a grand funeral was accorded to it.

In Nadaw of the year 955 (December 1593) the Talaing (Mon) governor of Mawbi rebelled, but he was speedily put down. Many Talaings suffered death, and many others ran away to Rakaing (Arakan), Prome, and Toungoo. His Majesty's suspicions and fears being aroused against all the Talaings, he caused many of them to be arrested and put to death. There was a regular scare among them, and many migrated to Rakaing, Yodaya, and Zimmè.

The position of Crown Prince which had been vacant since the death of the Maha Upayaza, was offered by His Majesty of Hanthawadi to his son Min-yè Kyawzwa, King of Ava, in Tabodwè 955 (February 1594).

In Tazaungmôn 956 (November A. D. 1594) the governor of Mawlamyaing (Moulmein) rebelled, and to put him down, a force of 400 elephants, 4000 horse, and 80,000 men was despatched in eight brigades under the command of the King of Toungoo. This force was defeated by the Talaings who were supported by the Siamese, and was obliged to retreat. The King of Toungoo was severely reprimanded, while Thiri Damathawka, one of the brigade commanders, was so severely punished that he died in consequence. There could be no doubt that the rebellion was instigated by the Siamese King. Only about two months later, King Bra Narit of Yodaya, in league with the governor of Mawlamyaing, led an army of twenty-four brigades, containing 600 elephants, 6,000 horse, and 120,000 men to Hanthawadi and invested the city. During the siege, the governor of Tounbo who fell into the hands of the Siamese in the battle in which the Maha Upayaza was killed, escaped from his captors and entered the city. The King of Hanthawadi was very pleased with the governor and rewarded him. After a siege of about four months, the King of Yodaya heard that the Kings of Zimmè, Toungoo, and Prome were coming to assist their suzerain. He thought that he would be greatly out-numbered when these auxiliaries arrived, and therefore raised the siege on the day of Thingyan (Songkran) in the month of Tagu (April), and returned by way of Môtta, taking away with him many Talaings (Mons) from the districts lying on the east of the Burmese capital.

About this time, internal strife became more frequent in Hanthawadi. The inevitable disintegration of the Burmese empire was near at hand. When news of the investment of the capital by the Siamese reached the King of Prome, he left Prome with an army to go to the assistance of his father. But learning that the King of Toungoo had left Toungoo, also with

the same object, he marched his army to Toungoo and tried to capture it. Nat-Shin-Naung, son of the King of Toungoo, however, defended the town successfully. After about a fortnight, the King of Prome received information that the King of Toungoo was returning because the Siamese had returned. He withdrew his army and returned to Prome. He then seized the towns to the north of Prome as far as Pakangyi, and declared himself independent of his father and suzerain.

In the beginning of the year 958 (A. D. 1586) Hanthawadi was visited by an immense number of rats that came over from the west. Minyè-Kyawzwa got his men to kill them, but it was beyond their power to destroy them all, and the rodents that escaped destruction caused such a devastation among the granaries and stores of grain that, within a month, food stuff became very scarce, and the price of rice rose to one hundred pieces of copper per basket. Owing to this scarcity, over 1000 levies from Linzin deserted, and tried to get back to their country, but they were pursued, and such as were caught were executed.

The King of Hanthawadi became suspicious of everybody under him, owing to the action of his younger son, the King of Prome, who declared himself independent, and on account of the daring aggression of the King of Yodaya. He summoned to the capital the fighting men from the towns to the North of Toungoo. As hostage or pledge of loyalty, he demanded of the King of Toungoo, his son Nat-Shin-Naung and the fighting elephant Upawthata; of the King of Zimmè, his son Prince Tulaung and the elephant Zabukyetthaye; and of his brother the governor of Nyaung-yan, his elder son Thakin Kyilat and the elephant Zabu-tazeik. The Kings of Toungoo and Zimmè resented this demand which showed, on the part of their brother and suzerain, want of confidence

in their loyalty, and lack of appreciation of their good behaviour. When even his own son had fallen away from him and declared independent, there was no reason, they said, why they should not do likewise, and they, accordingly, threw up the suzerainty of Hanthawadi. The governor of Nyaung-yan did not disavow the supremacy of his brother, but for his own safety, he found it necessary to fortify his town and garrison it strongly. Among the priests he was in the habit of supporting, there was one learned in astrological lore, and this priest predicted that the governor of Nyaung-yan would certainly become supreme king.

The King of Toungoo got information of the prediction regarding the governor of Nyaung-yan, and hoping to forestall him, sent envoys to the King of Rakaing (Arakan) with a letter asking the Arakanese King to assist him, and promising presents of elephants, horses, and a daughter in return, should he succeed in placing himself on the throne of Hanthawadi. The King of Rakaing at first doubted the possibility of overthrowing the supreme king, but when assured by the envoys of the fact that the supreme power at Hanthawadi was not the same as in the days of King Kyawdin Nawrata, but was really very weak owing to the defection of the vassal kings and governors, the King of Rakaing consented to co-operate. Accordingly, in Tabaung 958 (March A. D. 1597) the eldest son of the King of Rakaing arrived at Than-lyin (Syriam) with over 500 war vessels. Than-lyin was captured and occupied by the Arakanese army. In Tagu 959 (April A. D. 1597) the King of Toungoo came down with a force of 300 elephants, 5000 horse, and 50,000 men, and took up his station at a place called Kawliya. In the year 960 (A. D. 1598). Hanthawadi was closely invested, the Arakanese were on the south side of the city, the King of Toungoo was on the east, and his

son, Nat-Shin-Naung, on the north. When the provisions of His Majesty of Hanthawadi in the city ran short, many of his relatives left him and publicly entered the camps of the King of Toungoo and the Arakanese. Ten well-known captains of Minyè Kyawzwa, the Crown Prince, deserted with their men, and went off to Ava. Minyè-Kyawzwa himself, finding further resistance hopeless, offered to give himself up, provided his life was spared and he was treated with due consideration of his rank. The King of Toungoo asked Minyè Kyawzwa to surrender, promising him to give his daughter in marriage. On this, Minyè-Kyawzwa went over to the King of Toungoo without his father's knowledge, and he was sent away to Toungoo, where he was murdered at the instigation of Nat-Shin-Naung and his mother. When the King of Hanthawadi came to know that his son and heir had abandoned him and gone over to the side of his enemy, he offered to abdicate the throne, asking only that he might be permitted to live in peace, observing religious practices and duties. The King of Toungoo accordingly took possession of the throne of Hanthawadi, and ascended it as supreme king, on Sunday the 4th of waxing Pyatho 961 (January A. D. 1600). The deposed king with the chief queen and about twenty attendants were sent under escort to Toungoo; for having been sent practically a prisoner to Toungoo he is also called 'Toungoo-yauk-min.' As presents for the King of Rakaing, one white elephant, and a daughter of the deposed king, together with the insignia of a principal queen and the necessary personal attendants, were sent in state to the camp of the Arakanese.

As soon as King Bra Narit of Yodaya received information of the internal struggle in Hanthawadi, he marched, as quickly as he could, an army of twenty-four brigades. When news of the coming of the Siamese King reached the King of Toungoo, he called a council of his ministers and nobles to consider whether to

remain in Hanthawadi and resist the King of Yodaya, or to return to Toungoo and take his stand there. The nobles were divided in opinion, some thought it better to make a stand in Hanthawadi, where they could rely on the co-operation of the Arakanese army. One Nanda Kyawdin was of a different opinion saying it was unadvisable to resist the King of Yodaya in Hanthawadi, because the majority of the Talaings were in favour of the Siamese Monarch; another reason was, the Arakanese army could be made to stay in Hanthawadi and attack the Siamese as opportunity offered. On the advice of this nobleman, the King of Toungoo hastily marched back to his capital, taking with him all the fighting men from Hanthawadi. He also took the precaution of taking away valuable images of Buddha, the tooth relic of Buddha presented by King Dhammapala of Ceylon to King Kyawdin Nawrata, and the Tripitaka. He left Hanthawadi on the 2nd of waxing Tabaung 961 (March A. D. 1600), and arrived at Toungoo on the 5th of waning Tabaung. He immediately put the defences of the city in thorough repair, strengthened the weak points and mounted many guns on the city walls to be fully prepared for an attack. King Bra Narit of Yodaya went to Toungoo, and encamped at a place called Kywè-magu-kyun-gyaung. From this place he sent a message to the King of Toungoo, saying that he had come, not with the intention of fighting His Majesty of Toungoo, but with the object of asking for the person of His Majesty the late King of Hanthawadi, as he was desirous of worshipping him like a Buddha. The King of Toungoo sent a reply very much in the same style, saying that it was not only His Majesty of Yodaya who was desirous of worshipping His Majesty of Hanthawadi like a Buddha, but that he also was equally desirous of paying the same sort of homage to his brother, and for that reason he had brought him to Toungoo. The King of Yodaya said that he would secure the person of His

late Majesty of Hanthawadi by force, and moved up his army to the very edge of the moats surrounding the city. He cut a channel from the moat and drained the water in it, into the Paung-laung river. The Burmese historians said that the channel was known as the Yodaya channel, up to the time of their compiling the history. The Siamese then mounted guns on ramparts built by them, and shelled the city every day; they were unable to capture it by storm, as the defences were very strong and the defenders very vigilant and numerous.

The Arakanese forces were not idle; on the approach of the Siamese, they consigned to the flames all the big and splendid buildings, edifices and monasteries, starting with the golden palace itself. They then kept themselves under cover in the forest, and attacked transport boats conveying provisions to the main army, and thus successfully stopped supplies to the Siamese at Toungoo. Having failed to obtain provisions for about a month, King Bra Narit of Yodaya found he could not continue the siege any longer. He therefore raised the siege on Saturday the 10th. of waning Kasôn 962 (May, A. D. 1600), and retreated. On arrival at Môttama, he gave the oath of allegiance to all the Takings, and appointed the nephew of the governor of Winyaw, as governor of Môttama, with the title of Binnya Dala. He gave the governorship of Dawè to Bra Thabaik; and having thus made the necessary appointments, and put the country to the east of Môttama well under his control, returned to Yodaya.

The Burmese historian added, that it was said, that the King of Yodaya came to Hanthawadi with the object of helping the King of Hanthawadi, but finding him already a-prisoner in the hands of the King of Toungoo, he asked His Majesty of Toungoo to give up the prisoner; that failing to obtain him by peaceful means, he tried to do so by force; that it was the

intention of His Siamese Majesty to replace the King of Hanthawadi on the throne, repress all rebellion, and re-establish his authority over all the vassal kings and governors. Such might or might not have been the honest intention of King Bra Narit, the Burmese historian having recorded it only as hearsay ; but one thing is certain, Bra Narit would never consent to play the role of vassal, rather would he assume the position of suzerain. The army from Arakan returned after the King of Yodaya had left the country.

The unfortunate King of Hanthawadi, the son of King Kyawdin Nawrata, a mighty sovereign, did not long survive his fall and abdication, being secretly put to death by the machinations of Nat-Shin-Naung, on the 10th. of waning Tazaungmôn 962 (November A. D. 1600).

Sir A. D. Phayre's account of the same.

**February
A. D. 1593.**

**Desolation of
Pegu.**

With unreasoning obstinacy, he, three years later, sent an invading army into Siam under the Yuva Raja. This force was destroyed by incessant attacks from the Siamese under the valiant Byanarit. The supreme king, with blind fury, once more dispatched an army under his son, with orders to take the Siamese capital. The Yuva Raja penetrated near to Yuthia, but was defeated and killed in battle. The supreme king put many of his most loyal officers to death, and trusted none. The tributary king of Ava was appointed Yuva Raja, but was unable to moderate the cruelty of his father, who even slew many Buddhist monks of Talaing race. Thousands of people abandoned their country and fled, and the delta—the richest part of the kingdom—became depopulated from war, famine, and migration. The king of Siam advanced with an army to Martaban. He was moving on the capital; but hearing that a force was on the way from Taungu to attack him, he retired to his own country. A number of Talaings went with him.

**The tributary
King's revolt.**

The king of Prome now rebelled against his father, and marched to take possession of Taungu during the absence of his brother, who had gone to defend the capital. He failed to enter the city, but carried off many head of cattle. The supreme king was abandoned by all who might have supported him. He had alienated his whole family except his younger brother Ngyoung Ram Meng, who had succeeded Mengrè Kyoaswá as tributary king of Ava, and still remained faithful. But though he professed allegiance to the supreme

A. D. 1596.

**The city of Pegu
besieged. Supreme
king taken
prisoner and put
to death, Decem-
ber A. D. 1599.**

monarch, he rendered no active support. The king of Zimmè no longer abided by the injunctions of his father. The king of Taungu leagued with the king of Arakan, who possessed a powerful fleet, and the son of the latter, Meng Khamaung, brought a large force and took possession of Syriam, near to Dagun, and then the principal seaport of the delta. The nominally supreme king had no means of resistance to this aggression. The king of Taungu sent an army down the valley of Sittaung, under his son Nat Sheng-naung, and, with the Arakanese fleet, Hansawadi, the capital of Pegu, was invested. the city was surrendered, and the supreme king, the son and successor of the great Bureng Naung, was ignominiously sent prisoner to Taungu, where not long afterwards, he was secretly put to death. The King of Taungu returned to his own dominion with the principal part of the plunder. The prince of Arakan received a portion of the treasure, with a white elephant, and one of the princesses of the family of the supreme king. He returned to his own country, leaving a garrison to hold Syriam: and the capital of Pegu, on the buildings of which Bureng Naung had lavished the gold and silver reft from the conquered countries, was left a heap of ruins.

The warlike king of Siam again appeared in Pegu. He desired to gain possession of the person of the supreme king; but this being impossible, he retreated to Martaban. He made a Talaing chief king of that province, with the old title of Binya Dala; and Byathabaik was made tributary king of Tavoy. Thus the great empire of united Pegu and Burma, which a generation before had excited the wonder of European travellers, was utterly broken up; and the wide delta of the Irawadi, with a soil fertile as Egypt, and in a geographical position commanding the outlet of a great natural highway, was abandoned by those who might claim to represent the ancient rulers, and left to be parcelled out by petty local chiefs, and European adventurers.

VII.

The Burmese empire consolidated by King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata had been gradually disintegrating during the reign of his son and successor, the Toungoo-Yauk-Min; and on the deposition of the latter, and the assumption of supreme authority by the King of Toungoo, the territory of the supreme King comprised only Hanthawadi and Toungoo Prome and Ava, two other Kingdoms which formed part of the Burmese Empire, were independent, and in fact, every governor of an important town or province was, more or less, a king unto himself. The territory to the east of Hanthawadi was practically under the Siamese, that to the north of Toungoo was taken possession of by the governor of Nyaung-yan whose career it is necessary for us to trace briefly, as he and his son played important parts at that period of Burmese history.

At the time the King of Toungoo was concentrating his energies on Hanthawadi, the governor of Nyaung-yan soon made himself master of the towns in the neighbourhood of Nyaung-yan, and with power thus gradually increased by the acquisition of new towns and the reinforcement of fresh levies, he marched on Pagan, and subsequently, on to Ava which had been left in the care of two officers, with a force of about 3,000 men; the King, Minyè Kyawzwa, had gone down to Hanthawadi to assume the position of Maha Upayaza which had been vacant by the death of his elder brother in the campaign against Yodaya. The two officers tendered their submission to Nyaung-yan Min who thus became master of Ava, without any opposition. After a short and successful expedition against the Sawhs of Mo-hnyin and Mo-gaung, he formally ascended the throne of Ava on Friday the 12th of waxing Tabaung 961 (March 1599 A. D.), assuming the title of Thiha-thura-damayaza (Sīhasūra Dhammarāja).

While the governor of Nyaung-yan was endeavouring to work his way to the throne of Ava, the King of Prome foresaw the danger that must inevitably arise, should the governor succeed in his efforts. He therefore sent a message to the King of Toungoo, explaining the threatened danger, and asking for co-operation to put down the rising power of the ambitious governor, and frustrate, before it was too late, his schemes to sovereign authority. The King of Toungoo readily approved of the idea, seeing it was a common danger. Accordingly, it was agreed that he was to send an army by land, while the King of Prome was to despatch an army up the river. The land forces from Toungoo consisted of 40 elephants, 300 horse and 80,000 men under the command of the King's second son Min-yè Kyawzwa. The King of Prome sent by land, ahead of him, a force of 50 elephants, 500 horses, and 8,000 men under the command of Min-yè Uzana, governor of Salin, with orders to wait at Salin. He himself was to follow later, with a force of about 20,000 men, in 200 war vessels and 100 transport boats. But the stars of the governor of Nyaung-yan were in the ascendant, and the efforts of his enemies to frustrate him came to nothing. An attempt to assassinate the King of Prome was made by one of his personal attendants, while he was about to start for Ava, and in trying to get away from his assassins, he jumped from his royal barge into the the river and was drowned. The treacherous attendant, known as Yannaing-za, then usurped the throne of Prome. On hearing what had happened to the King of Prome, the King of Toungoo promptly issued orders to his son, countermanding the march to Ava, and directing him to go and capture Prome. The son obeyed and laid siege, but Prome held out. Failing in their object, the besiegers tried to capture Myedè, a town not far above Prome, where they met with failure also. At

last the forces were recalled to Toungoo.

Finding himself fairly secure on the throne of Ava, King Thiha-thura-damayaza turned his attention to the subjugation of the Shan States, formerly subject to Ava. It was his intention to bring Prone and Toungoo under his rule, and on the fall of the latter, he would nominally be the supreme king over united Burma, because at that time Hanthawadi formed part of Toungoo. He, however, was destined not to accomplish his object, as he fell ill and died, on Friday the 11th of waning Tabauung 967 (March 1605 A. D.), while returning from an expedition against Theinni Sawbwa.

In enumerating the incidents of his life, which went to show his power and glory, the Burmese historian mentioned casually, that in the year 966 (A. D. 1604), King Bra Narit of Yodaya marched an army of twenty brigades, via Zinnè, to invade Ava; but owing to the power of the Burmese Monarch, the King of Yodaya fell ill suddenly, and died at Maing-Hin, a provincial town of Zinnè.

On the death of Nyaung-yan Min or King Thiha-thura-damayaza of Ava, his eldest son ascended the throne, assuming the title of King Maha Damayaza (Mahā Dhammarāja).

After the break-up of the Burmese empire, on the deposition and death of Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata's son and successor, the relations between Burma and Siam were interrupted, owing chiefly to the struggle for supremacy among the petty kings, none of whom was strong enough singly to think of an invasion of Yodaya. The King of Yodaya, on his part, must have thought it advisable to let his enemies fight one another, till they became so exhausted and weakened as to fall an easy prey to his arms, when he would pounce upon them, and realize his great ambition of bringing Burma under his rule.

To add to the state of confusion and anarchy that prevailed then, a foreign adventurer arose, whose ambition it was to convert the Kingdom of Hanthawadi into a far eastern possession of the King of Portugal; and he would probably have attained his ambition, had he not been overcome by his lust for gold, which brought about his own ruin, and warded off, for two centuries and a half, the fate of Hanthawadi coming under the sway of a European power. The events narrated here concern Burma more than Siam, but it is necessary to know the state in which Burma then was, to understand the principal cause of the cessation, for the time being, of the incessant wars between the two countries.

Apparently the King of Toungoo, who became the nominal supreme king by successfully rising against the King of Hanthawadi and deposing him, established his seat of government at Toungoo. In fact, he could not possibly reside in Hanthawadi, without rebuilding for himself costly palaces and other official residences, because the old buildings, on which King Kyawdin Nawrata lavished his great wealth, had been set fire to and destroyed by the Arakanese, on the approach of the Siamese to Hanthawadi. He built a new palace at Toungoo in the year 964 (A. D. 1602), and having occupied it, assumed the title of Maha Damayza (Mahā Dhammarājā). He appointed his son, Nat-Shin-Naung, as Maha Upayaza.

The King of Arakan continued to remain on very friendly terms with the King of Toungoo, and there was frequent interchange of compliments and presents by means of royal messengers to and fro. In those days, the methods of administration were probably very defective, and the authority of the central government could not have extended very far from its seat;

for the royal messengers of the sovereigns were often molested and robbed on the way. At last, the King of Arakan proposed that he should keep a small force at Than-lyin (Syriam), to ensure the safety of the royal messengers, as well as traders. Consent was readily given by the King of Toungoo, and the King of Arakan, unfortunately, chose and sent a "Kala Baringyi" by name Nga-zin-ga, with three ships, one hundred small vessels, and 2000 men to occupy Than-lyin. This foreign adventurer very soon repaired the moats, walls, and defences of the town of Than-lyin, made it in fact a fairly strong fortress. He then commenced trading on his own account. At first he kept himself in favour with the two kings by sending presents regularly. He also tried to be on friendly terms with Binnya Dala, the governor of Môttama; and subsequently succeeded in forming a matrimonial alliance, by marrying his daughter to Binnya Dala's son, Binnya Nwè. Relying on the support of Binnya Dala, he soon threw up his former masters the Kings of Arakan and Toungoo, and tried to assert his independence, by disobeying their orders and ceasing to send them the usual presents. He also intercepted the royal messengers and traders going to and fro between Arakan and Toungoo. So in the year 965 (A. D. 1603), the King of Arakan proposed to the King of Toungoo that they should take joint action, by the former sending a fleet, and the latter despatching an army by land. The King of Toungoo readily agreed to assist, and sent an army consisting of 300 elephants, 3000 horse, and 50,000 men under command of his eldest son, the Upayaza. The King of Arakan, on his part, sent his eldest son, the Upayaza, with 100 war vessels and over 100 transport boats. Kala Nga-zin-ga, at first, thought he would be no match to the combined forces, and tried to escape with the ships he had in hand, having fully armed them with guns and ammunition. The

Arakanese Upayaza, in trying to intercept the escape of the Kala, was himself worsted in the fight, and fell a prisoner into the hands of Nga-zin-ga. The forces from Toungoo were still at a place called Ma-kaw, some distance from Than-lyin, and were therefore unable to be of any assistance to the Arakanese. When news of what had befallen the Arakanese flotilla and its commander reached the Upayaza of Toungoo, he stopped where he was and waited further developments. The King of Arakan learnt the fate of his son from those who escaped and got back to Arakan. He lost no time in coming to Than-lyin, with a flotilla of over 300 war vessels, and in consultation with the Upayaza of Toungoo, laid siege to the Kala's fortress. The foreign adventurer, encouraged by his recent success over a host, compared with which his small band of adventurers in three ships was a mere handful, decided to stand the siege. All attempts to storm the fort failed, and the Kala refused to capitulate. The besiegers were therefore obliged to parley, asking for the release of the Arakanese Upayaza, on the condition of raising the siege. In his message, the King of Arakan addressed Nga-zin-ga as his subject (lit: slave), and this was objected to by the foreigner who demanded to be addressed as an independent king, and made the compliance of his demand as the condition of the release of his prisoner. The King of Arakan and the Upayaza of Toungoo were obliged to comply with the adventurer's demand, though it must certainly be against the grain and conscience of the King of Arakan to address his once menial servant as his equal in rank. They reasoned, probably to appease their conscience, that the King of Yodaya was hand and glove with Binnya Dala of Mottama, and Nga-zin-ga had formed an alliance with the latter by the marriage of his daughter with the latter's son. Therefore, he might, in all probability, get assistance from Mottama and

Yodaya. The Arakanese Upayaza was restored to his father, only after the Kala had exacted a promise from the besiegers that, in future, they were not to attack Than-lyin at all. The siege was raised, and, the forces returned to their respective capitals. After this, the authority of the King of Toungoo was further curtailed, by Nga-zin-ga setting up a sort of petty kingdom, controlling the ports of Dala and Pathein (Bassein), and completely stopping supplies of foreign goods to Toungoo and the interior, except perhaps, only when it was to his benefit to allow them to be passed on.

Increased prosperity and power must have aroused the cupidity of Nga-Zin-ga; for as soon as he found himself able to do what he pleased, he started ransacking the pagodas and shrines round about Hanthawadi, and despoiling the gold and silver images of Buddha enshrined in them. He removed the precious stones with which the images were adorned, melted down the gold and the silver, and beat them into leaves which he sold to traders calling at the ports. Thus, he waxed very rich by this nefarious trade, and with riches came power and as authority.

The new King of Ava was not idle in the meantime. In the year 969 (A. D. 1607), he got together his auxiliary forces and levies from the Shan States and marched on to Prome, sending his forces both by land and water. After a siege of eight months, Prome surrendered in Wagaung 970 (August 1608). After appointing his brother Minyè Thinkathu as governor of the town, he returned to Ava.

The fall of Prome must have caused some apprehension in the minds of the Kings of Toungoo and Zinmè, for they both offered the King of Ava to form alliances by marriage. His Majesty of Ava however declined both, and took his own sister as his

chief queen. But towards the close of the year 972 (A. D. 1610.), the King of Zinmè sent one of his daughters by a concubine, to the King of Ava.

On Tuesday the 15th of waxing Wagaung 971 (August 1609.), the King of Toungoo died, and six days after, his son Nat-Shin-Naung ascended the throne, assuming the title of King Thila-thura (Sīlā-sūra). The very next year the King of Ava invaded Toungoo with a force of 500 elephants, 10,000 horses, and 120,000 men. After a siege of some months, the King of Toungoo tendered his submission on Friday the 2nd of waning Tawthalin 972 (September 1610.), but he was permitted to rule as a tributary king. About three months after, the King of Ava returned to his capital, taking with him a great many of the inhabitants of Toungoo.

In Wagaung of the year 974 (August 1612), Kala Nga-zin-ga of Than-lyin together with Binnya Dala of Môtama invaded Toungoo, the former coming up by water, and the latter marching by land. The garrison at Kyauk-Maw under the command of one of the king's brothers was taken by surprise and obliged to fall back on Toungoo. Crippled and depopulated only two years ago, Toungoo was not in a position to offer any resistance, and fell almost immediately. The Queen Mother succeeded in effecting her escape to Ava. Of the inhabitants, some fled to Ava, some were taken prisoners to Than-lyin and Môtama. The "kalas" stayed about ten days in Toungoo, during which time they plundered and pillaged to their hearts' content, and reduced to ashes the palaces and many other buildings. They then returned to Than-lyin with their booty, taking with them the unfortunate King of Toungoo.

The King of Ava sent a force of 100 elephants, 300 horse, and 20,000 men to go and assist Toungoo, but they had reached only as far as Yamèthin when they heard that Toungoo had fallen, and the king already

taken away. They were therefore recalled to Ava, and preparations on a very grand scale were made for the invasion of Than-lyin. A very noticeable feature in the invading forces on this occasion is the very large number of war boats which were not fewer than 800, and there were 300 transport boats besides. These were laden with a great many battering cannons and scaling ladders, and manned by 30,000 men. The land forces comprised of 600 elephants, 700 horse, and 130,000 men. Both divisions of the army left Ava in^t Pyatho 974 (January 1612). Kala Nga zin-ga must have had a very great confidence in himself to think of resisting a siege, or very probably, he expected foreign assistance from Goa. The King of Ava took the necessary precaution not to let the Kala escape, by having his war boats stationed at such waterways as would offer the Kala a passage out. It is somewhat interesting to know the details of the attack on Than-lyin, as described in the Hmannan Yazawin. Repeated attempts were made to storm the fort by scaling the walls, but the storming parties were always foiled in their attempts by the defenders pouring down red-pepper water and (boiling) wax of the dammer bee, in addition to using fire arms. Every such attempt was attended with heavy losses. But the King of Ava was not to be easily baffled. A mine was dug from the besieger's camp till it struck the base of the wooden palisades of the town. Then, after midnight on the night of the 7th. of waxing Tagu (April), a general assault on the fort was made. But the assaulting parties were, as before, foiled in their attempt, owing to the shower of red-pepper water, boiling dammer bees-wax, and pots of live coal (charcoal). At this stage, however, men were sent into the mine to haul the base of the wooden palisades by ropes, and by this means three posts were laid low, and a breach effected. Through the breach, the besiegers poured in and overpowered the

defenders. The town was given up to pillage, and it is said that there was not a single soldier who did not get some sort of booty.

Kala Nga-zin-ga was secured, and on being questioned why he had the audacity to encroach on Toungoo, he replied that he only availed himself of the offer of the King of Toungoo to hand over the kingdom to him. Evidence was adduced that the King of Toungoo did send a letter to the Kala, but what its contents were, was not proved. On this flimsy evidence, the unfortunate King of Toungoo was condemned to an ignominious death in the centre of the town. A worse fate awaited Nga-zin-ga, who was ordered to be impaled in front of his own house, and to be exposed to the view of the public. The principal reason given for his execution and the mode of carrying it out, was that he was heretic and a sacrilegious despoiler of pagodas. The order was carried out to the very letter, ten days after the capture of the town; thus ended the career of this foreign adventurer who, from a very low position, rose to be practically a petty king in Hanthawadi, though short-lived was the power to which he was not born. Between four and five hundred Kala Baringyi men and women of Nga-zin-ga's nationality, including his own kith and kin, were sent up to Ava and made to reside there.

About a month after, the King of Ava left Than-lyin to go to Hanthawadi, but before he had reached his destination, news was received of the arrival of five ships laden with about 3000 Kalapathi mercenaries, who had been sent for by Nga-zin-ga. Of these five ships, only one managed to escape; the rest were captured. The Burmese chronicler mentions that Nga-zin-ga knew well that his capture of Toungoo would not be overlooked by the King of Ava, and even if overlooked, the mercenaries would come in handy, as it was his inten-

tion to take Prome with their aid, and on the fall of Prome, to march on to Ava itself. Not long after, another ship laden with treasure and merchandise arrived from the town of Asi (Acheen), having been sent there by Nga-zin-ga to trade in his wife's name. This was also captured.

On arrival at Hanthawadi, the King of Ava, who was practically the supreme king of Burma proper and Hanthawadi, resided in a temporary palace; and thither went, early in 975 (A. D. 1613), Binnya Dala, governor of Môttama, to tender his submission. He had to take the oath of allegiance and the title of Binnya Damayaza was conferred on him. Binnya Paran, governor of Ye, was ordered to reside in Hanthawadi, and one of the king's brothers, the Sagaing Min, was sent there with a force to garrison the town. The King of Yodaya ordered the governor of Dawè (Tavoy) to go and capture the Burmese king's brother at Ye, and to send him up to the capital. The governor of Dawè marched on Ye and surprised the garrison, as the Sagaing Min apprehended no danger from that quarter, thinking that Dawè was loyal to the supreme king. The Sagaing Min was taken away to Dawè, and while he was being conveyed by boat to Yodaya, the savage Lawas rescued him with the intention of restoring him to the supreme king. He was, however, retaken by the governor of Dawè.

After the capture of Than-lyin, the supreme king appeared to have fixed his residence in Hanthawadi, though residing only in a temporary palace. In Nadaw 975 (December 1613), he went to Môttama and there learnt what had happened in Ye. He immediately despatched a force of 80 elephants, 1000 horse, and 40,000 men to Dawè, and himself went on to Ye. The governor of Dawè met the Burmese forces outside the town, but he was killed in the fight, and the town was captured by the

Burmese. The forces then returned to Ye, after leaving a small detachment to garrison the town. Almost immediately after their arrival in Ye, a force of 120 elephants, 1200 horse, and 40,000 men was despatched to Taninthari (Tenasserim). The Burmese could not get to the town of Taninthari, as they were separated from it by a river, and they had no boats to cross the river. The King of Yodaya tried to cut off the communication of the Burmese army with their King by felling big trees and bamboo groves, and blocking the way. His Majesty of Yodaya also sent a force consisting of eight brigades, under the command of Oya Win and Binnya U. An engagement took place, in which Oya Peiksi and Oya Thu-wunna-lauk were the first to be forced to retire, and subsequently the whole eight brigades were defeated. The Siamese army returned to Yodaya and the Burmese forces to Môttama, whither the supreme king had returned from Ye. No mention is made in Hmannan history as to whether Taninthari was taken and occupied by the Burmese, on this occasion.

While the supreme king was still staying at Môttama, he learnt of the following affairs in Zimmè (Chiengmai). Nawrata Minsaw, a son of King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, who had been King of Zimmè since the year 941 (A. D. 1579.) died; by his chief queen he had one daughter who had been given in marriage to the King of Yodaya, and three sons, the eldest of whom, Tulaung Prince, married a daughter of His Siamese Majesty and resided at the Siamese capital; the two others, Minyè Deikba and Thado Kyaw, lived in Zimmè. On the death of Nawrata Minsaw, the ministers, Thane-lôn and Than-lan, invited Tulaung Prince to come over and assume sovereignty. The prince came with a small force, but before he could get to Zimmè, the two ministers changed their minds and supported Minyè Deikba

in his claim to the throne. When he arrived in Zinmè, he became aware of the change of front in the two ministers, and therefore encamped outside the town. But before the two brothers came face to face, the elder got some affection of the throat accompanied by mumps, which soon grew worse and proved fatal. The Siamese forces who accompanied him then returned to Yodaya. Not very long after, the two fickle ministers deposed Minyè Deikba and made him a monk, at the same time raising his younger brother, Thado-kyaw, to the throne. The Burmese Monarch thought it a fitting opportunity to go and take possession of Zinmè, and accordingly he left Mòttama in Kasôn 976 (May 1614). His march was so slow on account of big trees and bamboos felled across the way to impede his advance, that he had to enlist the services of the hill Lawas to show him the way. When eventually he reached Labôn, the governor of Lawin, hearing of the advance of the Burmese forces, gathered in men and provisions into the town. The Burmese went on to Zinmè, where they were asked to go and attack Lawin, as there was no one in Zinmè to fight against them. His Burman Majesty went to Lawin, and encamped near the town. It was reported to him that the army was very short of provisions, and there was no means of replenishing their store. His Majesty said that in that case, they should try and capture the town as quickly as possible, and with this object he ordered the camps to be removed to within a "Ta" (7 cubits about 153 English inches) of the moat. On inspection of the camps, that of Mouè Sawbwa was found to be farther removed from the moat than the prescribed limit. The Sawbwa fearing punishment, which might probably mean death, fled from the camp with all his men. An attempt was made to capture him, but he made good his escape. In the meantime, about a third of the investing forces were starving, and the generals, except one Minyè

Thihathu, solicited the King to raise the siege and return. Minyè-Thihathu, on the other hand, begged the King to persevere for about half a month, as he expected to be able to make an entry at a place near his camp. He said, the sick, the starving, and the disabled could be sent back ahead to go by slow marches. His advice, coupled with the hope of success prevailed on His Majesty. Fortunately for the starving army, the governor of Anan arrived a few days later to tender his submission, bringing with him sixty bullock loads of rice.

Thado-kyaw, King of Zinmè, had from the very beginning, appealed to Linzin for help, and on the arrival of the allies from Linzin, they were taken into the city. He could not, however, avail himself of their assistance as he died not long after. On his death, the ministers took his elephant and his regalia and presented them to the Burmese King, in his camp at Lawin. His Majesty sent the same ministers to go and inform the chief of Lawin of the fact of their master's death. The chief lost heart on hearing the sad news, and surrendered about a fortnight later. The Burmese monarch was highly pleased with this unexpected turn of affairs. He rewarded Minyè-Thihathu by giving him Anan, and the governor of Anan was given Zinmè, in recognition of his valuable and timely help. He left Zinmè in Kasôn 977 (May 1615.), and arrived at Hanthawadi in Wazo (July) following.

The supreme king did not forget the desertion of Monè Sawbwa during the siege of Lawin, and was bent on punishing him. So in Nayôn 988 (June 1621), he sent his younger brother Minyè Kyawzwa with a force of 150 elephants, 1000 horse, and 40,000 men to go to Kyaing-tôn, whither the Sawbwa had fled. The Shan chief had appealed to Linzin for help and he was encamped on the east bank of Mè Pein (Me Ping), with a small force of

Linzin allies. The Burmese advance forces arrived near the river about 3 A. M. One of the brigade commanders, Minyè-Kyawdin proposed an immediate attack, as he doubted whether the Linzin forces would ever give battle the next morning. Minyè Kyawzwa thought it better to wait till next morning, first, because all the forces had not yet arrived, and secondly, they had no information as to the strength of the enemy. During the night the Linzin forces retreated leaving the Sawbwa quite helpless. He had no alternative but to throw himself on the mercy of the Burmese commanders. He explained that it was not disaffection or disloyalty that had prompted him to leave his post, but the fear of what might have befallen him had actuated his flight. A report of the surrender was sent to Hanthawadi, when an order from His Majesty came that Minyè-Kyawdin and Thibaw Sawbwa, two brigade commanders, and Baya-kamani, a lieutenant commander, were to bring Monè Sawbwa to Hanthawadi. On arrival, they were asked why they had allowed the Linzin forces to escape, and they replied that they could offer no reason, instead of rightly throwing the blame on Minyè-Kyawzwa. His Majesty was so displeased with their conduct that he exiled Thibaw Sawbwa to Ye, and Baya-kamani to Dawè, while Minyè Kyawdin was ordered to be confined for seven days, but before the end of the week, he died.

Early in 984 (A. D. 1622), an expedition was despatched against Kyaingrôn, in which Minyè-Kyawzwa's forces, who still remained in the Shan States, also co-operated. Owing, it is said, to the long distance, and the proximity of the area of operations to Chinese territory, the supreme king thought it necessary to send a reinforcement under his other brother Thado-Damayaza, in Nadaw 985 (December 1623). The Sawbwa of Kyaingrôn surrendered and a report to that effect was sent to the capital. His Majesty sent orders that the

Sawbwa should be reinstated in his principality, after the oath of allegiance had been administered to him, and that his children and brothers were to be sent to Hanthawadi as hostages. Further, he ordered his two brothers to remain in Kyaingrôn, making preparations for an expedition against Linzin, as it was his intention to invade Linzin the next year.

In the meantime, the Sawbwa of Kyaing-kaung rebelled, and made himself secure in the town of Anan. To suppress this rebellion, only a small force was despatched from the capital, the forces under his two brothers being ordered to co-operate with it. They attacked Anan and subsequently Kyaing-kaung, and captured both in 986 (A. D. 1624.). The Sawbwa of Kyaing-tôn and his brother, who was Sawbwa of Maing-si, again rebelled, but they were soon captured and executed in 988 (A. D. 1626.) without reference to the capital.

Towards the close of the year 988, the royal astrologers foresaw some danger to His Majesty, and to avert it they advised him to go and stay on the west of the (Pegu) river. While residing there he was assassinated, on Thursday the 8th of waxing first Wazo 990 (July 1628.), by Minyè Deikba, one of his sons by a concubine. It appeared that Minyè Deikba was in constant attendance on his father, and being permitted to stay within the temporary palace building, obtained opportunities to form an undue intimacy with one of his father's concubines, who was the daughter of the Sawbwa of Kyaing-tôn. When the matter could no longer be concealed, it was reported to the King, to whom the guilty parties confessed their guilt. The father was not so greatly incensed as the nature of the crime and the parties concerned should have made him, but he simply frightened his son by threatening that he would be fried alive. The terrified prince thought his father really meant what he said, and consequently planned

the assassination to escape a dreadful death. Thus closed the career of King Maha Damayaza who, though less illustrious than Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, was, nevertheless, a distinguished and powerful monarch in the history of Burma. He had succeeded in bringing Burma proper and Hanthawadi under one rule, in fact, in recovering King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata's empire, except the foreign tributary kingdoms like Yodaya, Linzin, and Lawaik, which it was his intention to recover also, had he not met his death at the hands of his son. He is also known in Burmese history as Anaukpet-lun-Mintaya (the King who passed away on the west side), because he met an unnatural death on the west side of the town of Hanthawadi.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account
of the same narrative.

CHAPTER XV.

PEGU AND BURMA AGAIN UNITED.

The King of
Arakan occupies
Syriam.

The fate of Pegu was for the moment decided by the presence of Portuguese adventurers, who swarmed in Arakan and the neighbouring countries.¹ The King of Arakan at this time was Meng Rājāgyi, who had taken the Muhammadan name of Salim Shah.² His son, Meng Khamauṅg, had commanded the fleet and army which co-operated with the King of Taungu in the siege of the capital of Pegu. The prince, when leaving to return home with the booty he had acquired, placed a garrison in the port of Thanhlyin, called by Europeans Syriam. It was at that time the principal seaport of the kingdom, and remained so until superseded by Rangoon. The King of Arakan determined to retain Syriam, but saw that as the Portuguese had command of the sea, he could not safely do so without their concurrence. Too proud openly to ask for their assistance, he sought to obtain it by means of one of their own countrymen who was in his service. For some years there had been in Arakan a young Portuguese, originally a shipboy, who had served as a menial in the palace, and was trusted by the king as a faithful servant. His name

1. See chapter XVIII.

2. That this King was known by this name to foreigners is evident from the Portuguese historian, who has written it Xilimixa.

Philip de Brito
appointed agent
to the King.

was Philip de Brito and Nicote.¹ He was sent by the king of Arakan to have charge of the custom-house at Syriam, and to represent the king with his own countrymen. The commandant of the garrison was an Arakanese. He had no authority over the Portuguese inhabitants, who were guaranteed the enjoyment of their own laws. De Brito appears gradually to have formed the plan of becoming master of the town and port. He got permission to build a custom-house of brick; a fort was afterwards constructed as a protection to the custom-house; and by the boldness of a Portuguese officer, Salvador Ribeyro, the Arakanese commander was expelled from the settlement. De

De Brito seizes
the port.

Brito was now supreme as governor. He went to Goa to seek from the viceroy authority to hold the town under him. During his absence the king of Arakan sent an army across the mountains under the expelled commandant, who was also joined by some troops sent by the king of Prome. They came down the Irāwadi and invested Syriam, and being joined by a large body of the Talaing population, continued the siege for eight months. Ribeyro was acting governor, and determined not to surrender. To prevent his countrymen from thinking of escape while suffering from hunger, he burnt three ships he had in the port. At length, relief was sent by the viceroy, and the investing force withdrew. Ribeyro took prudent measures to conciliate the Talaing chiefs, who now offered to accept de Brito as king of Pegu. He, in the meantime, had married the viceroy's niece and returned to Pegu with the title of captain-general. He had with him six ships, and proclaimed his reception of the kingdom in the name of his sovereign. He put the fortifications in

Is supported by
the Portuguese
Viceroy of India.

1. The story of this adventurer is told in De Sousa's History, vol. iii., and in the native histories of Arakan and Burma. He is mentioned in the narrative of the Hollander traveller Floris, and in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers Boves and Fernandez. One of these Fathers states that he went from Arakan to Pegu with De Brito in A. D. 1600 (Purchas' Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1746).

**The King of
Arakan attacks
Syriam and is
defeated.**

order, built a church, and marked out the limits of the city, which, with prudent management, might become the capital of a great province under the crown of Portugal. The king of Arakan was not disposed to allow his former servant to remain quietly in his usurped position ; but knowing that de Brito was now supported by the viceroy, he temporised, and sent him a complimentary message. De Brito forwarded a rich present to his former master. But this false courtesy on both sides, was soon changed to open war. The King of Arakan entered into a league with the king of Taungu, and sent a force to Pegu under his son Meng Khamaung. The army, embarked in several hundred vessels, approached Syriam, and the Arakanese flotilla was at once attacked by a few Portuguese ships commanded by Pinnero. The Arakanese were defeated, and the prince was taken prisoner and carried to Syriam. De Brito had the good feeling to treat the son of his former master with great respect. Nevertheless, he demanded a ransom of fifty thousand crowns for his release. The king of Arakan, sooner than submit to these terms, determined to make another attempt to take the port. Leagued with the king of Taungu, they brought a more formidable host to the attack by land and sea. Pinnero gallantly went out to fight the assailing vessels, but failed and perished by blowing up his own ship rather than be taken prisoner. The allied force was unable to capture the town, and the king of Arakan having paid the ransom demanded, the young prince was released.

A. D. 1604.

**De Brito offends
the Talaings by
his evil deeds.**

De Brito was now secure. The Talaing chiefs sought his friendship, and even the king of Taungu entered into alliance with him. Bassein and all the western side of the delta was independent. But de Brito's son, Simon, married a daughter of Binya Dâla, the king of Martaban, who was tributary to Siam, and the Portuguese interests were thereby secured in that important province. The captain-

general, however, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the native population, from prudent self-interest, if not from a sense of justice, by showing respect to their religious feelings, wantonly outraged them. The native historians, Burmese and Talaing, record with intense bitterness that the pagodas round the city of Pegu were dug into and plundered of the golden images, and precious stones, which Bureng Naung had enshrined in those fabrics. The people, deeply moved at this sacrilege, murmured among themselves that their race and religion would be brought to an end. The perpetrator of these outrages vainly sought to strengthen his government by pressing Buddhists to become nominal Christians; for the Portuguese historian speaks of a hundred thousand converts to Christianity. While the foreign intruder, by his arrogance and oppression, was digging a pit for his own fall, a power was rising in the country of the upper Irâwadi which was destined to avenge his deeds of injustice.

**Ngayaung Ram
Meng, King of
Burma, son of
Bureng Naung.**

After the destruction of the capital of Pegu, and when the supreme king had been carried as a captive to Taungu, his younger brother, Ngayaung Ram Meng, refrained from interfering in the affairs of the lower country, and sought to establish his own authority in the ancient kingdom of Burma. The country in the valley of the Irâwadi to the north of Pagan submitted to him. His nephew, the king of Prome, seeing danger to himself in this consolidation of power, determined to invade Ava, but was assassinated by one of his own officers, who then declared himself king of Prome. Ngayaung Ram Meng having strengthened the defences of his capital, marched against the chiefs of Mogaung and Monyin, who had refused to pay tribute. He was unsuccessful in this expedition, but punished the chief of Bamao, and extended his authority along the Upper Sittaung to Ramâthen. The next three or four years were occupied in subduing

the Shan states, including the two strongest, which before had repulsed him, and while so employed the king died.

A. D. 1605.

**His son, Maha
Dhamma Raja
destroys Syriam
and reigns in
Pegu.**

He was succeeded by his son, who took the title of Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ. His father, when on his death-bed, had solemnly charged him to re-establish the empire of Bureng Naung, and to recover Prome without delay. The northern and eastern Shan states

A. D. 1608.

had at this time been brought under control, but it was not until three years later that Prome was taken, after an investment of eight months. The usurper's life was spared, and the king appointed his own brother governor of the town. He then returned to Ava, and received friendly messages from the kings of Arakan, Taungu, and Zimmè, who saw that he was likely to become master of all

A. D. 1610.

He next marched against Taungu. The king of that state, named Natsheng, was the son of him who had taken the capital of Pegu. He agreed to become tributary to his cousin, and yielded some of his family as hostages of his fidelity. By this act he broke faith with de Brito, who, with the king of Martaban,

A. D. 1612.

led an army to Taungu and made Natsheng prisoner. They plundered the city, burnt the palace, and then retired.

The Burmese king determined to punish this insult to his authority, and at once prepared to attack de Brito in his stronghold. His arrangements were made with great care, as he knew the enterprise would be one of difficulty; but he would allow of no delay, and sending forward all his forces by land and river on their way to Pegu, he himself left his capital early in December of the same year. Before the close of the year the Burmese hosts had gathered round Syriam by land and water. The king was chiefly anxious that the hated de Brito should not escape, and all the outlets on the sea-coast were vigi-

A. D. 1613.

lantly watched. The Portuguese governor, though he had been so recklessly aggressive, was utterly unprepared to resist attack. He was short of powder; he had lately allowed many of his Europeans to go to India; and had only one hundred Portuguese in the garrison. (1) The plan of the Burmese king, who had no guns to batter the fort, was by strict blockade to starve the inhabitants; and so effectually was this performed, that after thirty-four days de Brito sent to beg mercy. No answer was given. The king of Arakan sent a fleet of fifty boats, hoping yet to recover his authority in the port, but these were all taken by the besiegers. At length a Talaing chief in the town, opened one of the gates, and the besiegers entered at night during the first week of April. De Brito, the sacrilegious wretch who destroyed pagodas, as is remarked in the Burmese history when his punishment is related, was impaled on a high stake before his own house, and so lived for three days in dreadful agony. Most of the leading Portuguese were executed, and the remainder, as well as de Brito's wife, and many of mixed race, were sent as slaves to Ava. Their descendants are still to be found there, and are known as native Christians. The Burmese king took care that de Brito's son Simon, who was at Martaban, should not escape, and he was put to death. The king of Taungu, no doubt, was similarly disposed of, though it is said he died a natural death. A few days after the surrender, five ships laden with arms and powder, sent by the viceroy from Goa, arrived to relieve Syriam. Somewhat later a ship belonging to de Brito's wife came in from Achin laden with provisions. All but one of these were taken by the victors, and the fortune of Mahâ Dhammâ Rājā pre-

1. The siege of Syriam is described in detail by Paris de Sousa, who condemns the evil conduct of de Brito as well as his neglect to provide against an attack.

A. D. 1605.

vaied on every side. The king of Martaban submitted, and for the present was allowed to continue as tributary king. The king of Siam had sent a force to watch events, which advanced to Ye. But that kingdom could no longer contend with Burma. The warrior-king Byanarit had died at Zimmè, when he was believed to be on his march to attack Ava. His brother, who succeeded him, reigned only five years, after which a disputed succession and civil war, kept the Siamese employed at home for some years.

CHAPTER XVI.

PEGU AND BURMA—STRUGGLE FOR
SUPREMACY—BRIEF SUCCESS
OF PEGU.

**Maha Dhamma
Raja recovers
the empire of
Bureng Naung.**

A. D. 1615.

After the capture of Syriam the king of Burma established himself in a camp near the city of Hantsawadi. He was determined to recover the whole dominion which had been ruled by his grandfather. Towards the end of the year he marched to Martaban, from whence he sent a body of troops under his brother, which occupied Tavoy, and a detachment was sent to the town of Tenasserim. The latter place was defended by some Portuguese in the service of the king of Siam. They had four galliots, from the fire of which the Burmese suffered considerable loss, before they could enter the town.

A. D. 1578.

The king next turned his attention to Zimmè. The great Bureng Naung had made one of his sons tributary king of that state. On the death of Tharawadi Meng, his three sons disputed the throne, and the youngest, Thadogyoa, apparently by acknowledging the supremacy of Siam, was successful. The king, in pursuance of his plan to restore the empire, marched on Zimmè from Martaban, and reached that city in the summer. Thadogyoa

A. D. 1615.

made but a feeble resistance, was taken prisoner, and being a traitor, is no more mentioned. Most of the leading officers of the state were sent prisoners to Pegu, and the king remained there for a year, settling the country, and devising measures for further operations. He prudently abstained from interfering with Laos, and returned to Pegu, leaving one of his sons as governor with the title of Mengrè Dippa. ¹ He

A. D. 1616.

1. In Purchas' "Pilgrims," vol. v. p. 1006, is the story of an Englishman, named Thomas Samuel, who had been sent to Zimmè from Siam, "to discover the

again took up his abode in camp, and when the city had been thoroughly put in order, entered it towards the end of the year. He diligently attended to the affairs of the kingdom, appointed Burmese, Shans, and Talaings to administer the districts. Burma proper, Prome, Taungu, and Zimmè, were governed by tributary kings or viceroys; Martaban and Tenasserim by governors; and Pegu was under the direct government of the supreme king himself.

* * * * *

During the remainder of this king's reign no great public events are recorded. He continued to hold his court at the ancient capital of Pegu. His younger brother, Mengrè Kyoaswâ, was tributary king in Ava. Another brother, Thado Dammâ Râjâ was tributary king in Prome. The supreme king himself occasionally held his court in Ava. Some of the Shan states at intervals gave trouble, and an expedition against Kyaing Hung or Yun was made, the chief of which state had withheld payment of tribute. The king sincerely desired to do justice to all. A handsome bell was cast and hung at the palace gate, on which was an inscription in the Burmese and Talaing languages, exhorting complainants to strike the bell and the king would hear their cry.² Yet this beneficent king met his death in consequence of a palace scandal in which his own son was concerned, and who, in the words

trade of that country." Being there when the city was captured, he with all other strangers was carried to Pegu. He died; but in a letter from one William Methold, it appears that his property was given up by order of the king, who signified his desire that the English should trade with his country. An order to that effect, "written on a palmitto leaf," was brought to Masulipatam in April 1619 by two Englishmen from Pegu.

2. For the curious subsequent history of this bell, see note at the end of this chapter.

of the Burmese chronicler, "committed an unutterable crime." The deed was perpetrated at a temporary palace on the west bank of the river of Pegu, from whence this king is now best known as Anaukphet Lwun Meng, or the king who passed away on the west side.

VIII.

On the death of King Maha Damayaza or Anauk-pet-lun Mintaya, his son and assassin Minyè Deikba ascended the throne. Thado Damayaza and Minyè Kyawzwa, the brothers of the deceased monarch, were in the Shan states of Kyaing-rôn and Kyaing-thin, trying to subdue the rebellious chiefs of those states. An attempt was made by Minyè Deikba to play one brother off the other, by sending messengers to each individually, asking one to try and kill the other. But Thado Damayaza was forewarned by the arrival of an express mounted messenger from Hanthawadi, twelve days after the death of his brother, he having made arrangements to have news in the capital conveyed to him in that manner. The two brothers made their way to Ava, and while still endeavouring to enter the northern capital, the principal attendants of Minyè Deikba seized and placed him in the custody of Minyè Nawrata. A deputation was then sent to Thado Damayaza, inviting him to come to Hanthawadi and assume sovereign authority. The forces opposing him tendered their submission, on becoming aware of the deposition and captivity of Minyè Deikba. He went to Hanthawadi, and on arrival, ordered the execution of Minyè Deikba, saying that a parricide deserved no considerate treatment.

Following the example of his brother, he deferred the celebration of his coronation, and marched against Zimmè with a force of thirty-two brigades, on the 5th. of waning Nadaw 992 (December 1630. A. D.). Zimmè was not captured till Tagu 994 (April 1632. A. D.), and on the fall of Zimmè, the Sawbwas of Kyaing-rôn and Kyaing-tôn came and tendered their submission. The Sawbwa of Maing-kwin, however, held out, and a force of 100 elephants, 1000 horse, and 40,000 men was sent

against him, under the command of the King's brother, Minyè Kyawzwa. Repeated assaults on the town having failed, the Burmese force was obliged to lay siege which lasted eight months. The inhabitants were practically starved out; and one night, when the defenders were too enfeebled to offer any resistance, the Burmese forces entered the town. After this, Minyè Kyawzwa returned to Zinmè to join the King. Leaving a force of to occupy Zinmè, His Burman Majesty left for Hantawadi in Tabodwè 994 (February 1633 A. D.), and arrived at his capital the following Tagu (April).

Soon after his arrival, grand preparations were made for his coronation; and on Friday the 9th of waning Nadaw 995 (December 1633. A. D.), he was formally crowned, assuming the title of Thiri Thudamayaza Maha Dibadi (Siri Sudhammarāja Mahādhipati).

On Friday the 8th. of waning Pyatho 995 (January 1634 A. D.), a mission was sent to Yodaya, with a letter from His Burman Majesty to the King of Yodaya; but what the contents of the letter were, are not mentioned in the Hmannan history.

In Pyatho 996 (January 1635 A. D.), the King went to Ava to go through a second coronation ceremony, which was performed in Nayôn 997 (June 1635 A.D.). He then appointed his brother Minyè Kyawzwa, as Upayaza. In accordance with a solemn resolve made while he was still a prince, he started building a pagoda which he called Yazamanisula (Rājamāṇicūlā), and enshrined in it an image of Buddha cast in pure gold, equal to his own weight. It was predicted that he would not live to finish the pagoda, and the prediction proved true, as he died on Thursday the 10th of waxing Tawthalin 1010

(September 1648 A. D.), before the "ti" (umbrella) was put on the pagoda. He is also known as "Thalun Mintaya". His brother whom he had appointed Upayaza pre-deceased him, having died on the 12th of waning second Wazo 1009 (August 1647 A. D.).

Minyè Yandameik the son of the deceased King, ascended the throne, assuming the title of Thiri Nanda Thudamayaza Pawara Dibadi (Siri Nanda Sudhammarājā Pavarādhpati). He appointed the eldest of his three brothers, as Upayaza, with the title of Minyè Thihathu; the second brother was made governor of Toungoo, and the third, governor of Prome. The Upayaza, however, died about five years later, and his son was given the rank instead.

The greater part of this King's reign was occupied in repelling the incursions of the Chinese. On Monday the 1st of waxing Wagaung 1022 (August 1660 A. D.), a force of two brigades was sent to Zimmè, but for what purpose it is not stated, most probably to relieve the garrison there.

A scarcity of food followed as a consequence of the frequent incursions of the Chinese, who plundered and pillaged the country and robbed the people, during the time they were round about Ava. The unpaid levies from the outlying provinces, summoned to Ava for the defence of the capital, found it impossible to maintain themselves, when rice was sold at exorbitant rates by the King's concubines. Many were actually starving, and it is not surprising that the army should, in the circumstances, become disaffected and disloyal. They went to the governor of Prome who had been summoned to the capital to defend it against the Chinese, and asked him to depose his brother and assume sovereignty. On Friday the 7th. of waxing Nayôn 1023 (June 1661 A. D.), the governor of

Prome availed himself of the opportunity, entered the palace with a force, and surprised the King who surrendered himself to the mercy of his brother. At first, the deposed King and his family, consisting of his chief queen and son and grandson, were provided with a suitable residence and maintained properly by the new Sovereign, but not for very long. On the advice of his ministers, the King sanctioned the execution of his deposed brother, his chief queen, son and grandson, by drowning them in the Chindwin river.

On Wednesday the full-moon day of Tawthalin 1023 (September 1661 A. D.), he was formally crowned King, assuming the title of Maha Pawara Damayaza Lawkadibadi (Mahā Pavara Dhammarājā Lokādhipati).

Reports having been received that the people of Môtta were plotting a revolt, relying on the support of Yodaya, a force was sent to Pegu in Tabaung 1023 (March 1662), to be in readiness in case of need. And in Tazaungmôn 1024 (November 1662.), forces by land and water were sent to Môtta. At the same time, a force was despatched to Zinmè, as it was reported that an army from Yodaya was going up to attack Zinmè. But before the Burmese forces could reach Zinmè, the forces from Yodaya had already occupied the town, having captured it on Monday the 4th of waxing Tabaung 1024 (March 1663.). The Burmese were unable to enter the city; moreover, they were attacked by the Siamese from inside the city, as well as by some of the Siamese forces who were outside it. It was only with hard fighting that the Burmese were able to withdraw in good order.

In Kasôn 1025 (May 1663), reinforcements had to be sent to Môtta, on account of the

threatened invasion of Yodaya. The King of Yodaya sent his son, Binnya Win, the Crown Prince, with a large force to capture Môttama. The Burmese, most probably, tried to intercept the Siamese army on the way before it could reach Môttama. Their van-guard came upon the camp of the Talaing troops from Yodaya, and a battle was fought in which the Talaings were defeated and routed, with about two-thirds of their number slain. Binnya Win advanced, notwithstanding the defeat of his Talaing advance troops, and met the Burmese. He was killed in the fight, and the elephant on which he met his death was captured, together with its golden trappings. Many Siamese were killed, many were taken prisoners, and a number of elephants, horses, and arms fell into the hands of the Burmese.

About the same time, two Siamese nobles marched with a force to Dawè, but they were successfully resisted by the people of Dawè, one of the nobles being killed in the fight, and the other taken prisoner and sent to the Burmese King. A similar attempt was made by the Siamese on Mawlamyaing (Moulmein), with like disastrous results. Both the two nobles who were in command were captured; one was executed, for what reason it is not stated, and the other was sent a prisoner to the capital. When that part of the territory was rid of the Siamese forces, one Minyè Zeya was left in charge of Môttama, with a strong garrison.

In Nayòn 1026 (June 1664), the King appointed his son Narawara as crown prince.

In the meantime, the Siamese forces continued to occupy Zimmè. The inhabitants did not attempt to regain the city, but remained in camp out in the jungle. They, however, kept on harassing foraging parties of the Siamese, and killing whosoever fell into their hands. These frequent losses of small parties of

men considerably reduced the strength of the Siamese in time. They therefore returned to Yodaya, taking away whatever was valuable, found in the city. Then only, the King of Burma chose one Minyè Hlakyaw, for his administrative qualities, and appointed him as governor of Zinmè. The new governor left for his post in Nadaw 1026 (December 1664). In Kasôn 1029 (May 1667), it was reported that he was trying to be disloyal and to betray his trust. An enquiry was made, and it was proved that the report was true. He was sent in exile to Mo-hnyin, and the Sawbwa of that place was appointed to succeed him as governor of Zinmè. About four years later, the Sawbwa was superseded by one Minyè Yanta, appointed from the Burmese capital.

In Nadaw 1029 (December 1667), the King's elder brother, who had been tributary king of Toungoo died: one Minyè Yaza was sent to Toungoo in Wagaung 1030 (August 1668), but with the rank of governor only.

On Thursday the 2nd. of waning Tagu 1034 (April 1672), King Maha Pawara Damayaza Lawkadibadi died. He was succeeded by his son, Narawara, who formally ascended the throne, seventeen days after his father's death, assuming the title of Maha Thihathura Thudamayaza (Mahā Sīhasūra Sudhammarājā). The new King reigned only about a year, as he died on Monday the 12th. of waning Tabaung 1034 (March 1673.), leaving no issue of his own. By a court intrigue, one Minyè Kyawdin, a cousin of the last deceased King, was raised to the throne. He assumed the title of Thiri Parawa Maha Damayaza (Siri Pavara Mahā Dhammarājā), which he kept on changing and amplifying, till at last it took the form of Thiri Pawara Tibawana Thihathura Etga Pandita Yazadibadi Maha Damayaza (Siri Parava Tibhavana Sīhasūra Agga Pandita Rājādhipati Mahā Dhammarājā).

In Tagu 1036 (April 1675), the governor of Mottama reported that a Siamese army was marching towards the frontier. A force of two brigades was despatched to Yodaya via Mottama early in Kasôn 1037 (May 1675.), followed by another force of four brigades, seventeen days later. In Tazaungmôn (November) of the same year, the levies from the Shan states, with the Sawbwa of Thibaw in command, were ordered to march to Yodaya via Zinnè. These two columns must have effected a junction at Tayaw Maingdet, (1) where they were opposed and defeated by the Siamese. The Burmese history makes no mention of their movements after the defeat ; most probably they made no attempt to rally and marched back straight home.

A number of Siamese had been made to settle down in the town of Salin. In Tabaung 1041 (March 1680), they rose in revolt and a force had to be sent from the capital to suppress the rising.

In Tawthalin 1050 (September 1688), Dabayinmin, the eldest son of the second queen was appointed Crown Prince, the chief queen being childless. The prince assumed the title of Thiri Maha Thihathura (Siri Mahā Sihasūra).

A Siamese nobleman of the name of Thalawut, together with about one hundred men and five elephants, arrived at the Burmese capital in Wagaung 1057 (August 1695), and requested to be taken into the service of the Burmese King.

King Thiri Pawara Tibawana Thihathura Etga Pandita Maha Damayaza died on Sunday the 11th of waning Kasôn 1060 (May 1698), and was succeeded by his son Thiri Maha Thihathura, the Crown Prince, who, on accession to the throne, assumed the regal title of Thiri Maha Thihathura Thudamayaza (Siri Mahā Sihasūra Sudhammarāja).

(1) Probably Raheng, i. e. Muang Tark.

During the early part of the rains in the year 1061 (A. D. 1699), preparations were made to invade Yodaya. In Thadingyut (October) of the same year, a force of six brigades was sent via Zimmè, and another of the same strength was despatched by way of Môttama. Both these columns must have met with reverses ; the Burmese historian did not mention the details of what befell the Burmese arms, he contented himself by simply saying that affairs did not go well with them. Reinforcements were sent via Môttama, but what became, ultimately, of the Burmese forces in Siamese territory is not mentioned in the Hmannan history ; most probably, they were beaten and obliged to return home. Mention is also made of the despatch of two brigades to Anan via Zimmè but for what purpose, and with what result, it is not stated.

In Kasôn 1065 (May 1703), again in Wazo 1066 (July 1704) immigrants from Yodaya arrived at Ava. In Pyatho 1071 (Jan. 1709), a nobleman from Linzin arrived at Ava with about 1000 men and 20 elephants, and requested to enter the service of the Burmese King. During the whole of his reign, Zimmè and Môttama were firmly held by the Burmese ; reliefs of the Burmese garrisons in these two places were sent at intervals of about three years.

In Tazaungmôn 1072 (November 1710), the King appointed his brother as governor of Pagan, with the title of Thiri Thudamayaza, but the insignia of a tributary king was conferred on him. A year later, he appointed his son as Crown Prince.

After an illness of about five or six months, King Thiri Maha Thihathura Damayaza died on Wednesday the 14th. of waxing Tawthalin 1076 (September 1714). He was succeeded by his son, the Crown Prince, who assumed the title of King Thiri Pawara Maha Damayazadibadi (Sîri Pawara Mahā Dhammarājādhipati). The governor of Pagan,

who was brother of the late king, made a feeble attempt to become king, but was soon compelled to take to flight. In Kasôn 1089 (May 1725), the King appointed Singu prince, his son by the chief queen, as Crown Prince.

In the same year, the people of Zimmè rose in rebellion, and killed the Burmese governor and officers of the garrison, on account of the oppressive taxes and tolls levied by these officials; they elected a man by the name of Kanan Deikba as their King. News of this having reached Ava, a force of 50 elephants, 2000 horse, and 20,000 men under the command of Minyè Yandathu was sent to Zimmè in October, via Monè. The Burmese recaptured Zimmè, but the commander and his officers were bribed to evacuate the town. Subsequently, the people of Zimmè attacked and defeated the Burmese. Information of the misconduct of his officers reached His Burman Majesty, and he sent a small force to punish the offenders, by pouring molten silver down their throats. The officers became aware of their fate, and they committed suicide by taking poison. Another attempt to regain possession of Zimmè was made in 1093 (A. D. 1731.), but the attempt proved an utter failure, the Burmese army being entirely defeated and put to rout, when attacked, in a narrow defile, by the forces from Zimmè. The Burmese monarch was highly incensed and ordered the wholesale execution of all the officers. This order was, however, commuted, on the intercession of Buddhist priests, to one of degradation and banishment to an unhealthy place.

A curious incident of the occult power believed to be possessed by Siamese doctors is mentioned in the Hmannan history. It is said that the north-east corner of the city of Ava had been gradually wearing away by the erosion of the river. By the employment of cabalistic squares and "mantras," a Siamese doctor caused a sandbank to appear opposite the place where

the bank of the river was being encroached upon, and thereby diverted the current, and prevented further erosion.

On Saturday the 9th of waxing Nadaw 1095 (December 1733.), King Thiri Pawara Maha Damayazadibadi died. He was succeeded by his son, the Crown Prince, who assumed the title of Maha Damayazadibadi (Māhā Dhammarājādhipati). The new King continued to hold his court in Ava, while the government of Hanthawadi was left in the hands of a Burman governor, named Maung Tha Aung, appointed from Ava.

From the year 1099 (A. D. 1737), the Kathès (i. e. the Manipuris) began to make several inroads into Burma, coming sometimes as far as Sagaing which is only a few miles from Ava. Several expeditions were sent to punish them, but all without success.

News of the coming of the Kathès as far as Sagaing reached Hanthawadi, and the governor there thought it a very opportune moment to throw off his allegiance to the King of Burma. So in the early part of the year 1101 (May 1739.), he got some of the principal Talaiings to support him, and on the pretence of giving a feast in honour of the ear-boring ceremony of his daughter, he assembled a number of officials and non-officials. He then compelled the assembled people, to take the oath of allegiance to him, and those who refused to take the oath were put to death. The rebel governor then began to take aggressive measures, and ordered that the town of Than-lyin, under another governor, should be attacked and captured. But when, on the way, the officers showed disinclination to march to Than-lyin, he caused their wives and children to be confined in the compound of his house, threatening to put them to death, if the officers should prove disobedient and disaffected. The officers could not tolerate such high-handed treatment from a man who, erstwhile, was

only a governor, and they rebelled and killed him. The supreme king, having received information of the unsettled state of affairs in Hanthawadi, sent Minyè Kyawgaung; in Wagaung 1102 (August 1740), with a force of about 5000 men, to put matters right. The principal officers of Hanthawadi welcomed Minyè Kyawgaung, handing over to him the deceased rebel governor's wife and children who were all put to death. Minyè Kyawgaung appointed the governor of Than-lyin, whose name was Minyè Aung Naing, as governor of Hanthawadi, and returned to Ava.

The new governor did not long enjoy his promotion to a higher post. He ordered many persons to be executed for alleged complicity in the ambitious schemes of his predecessor; and as he exercised no discretion whatever to find out those who were really guilty, many innocent persons suffered death on this account. The people rose against him on account of his severity, and killed him.

Then, the Gwe Karens in the village of Awaing desired to proclaim king, and to put on the throne of Hanthawadi, a man, who, they believed was destined to become the future King of Hanthawadi. They assembled in large numbers to carry out their object. The Talaing officials went and met the Gwe Karens, and on enquiry they found, at least to their own satisfaction, that the man was no other than the son, by a concubine, of Pagan Min, who was brother of King Thiri Maha Thihathura Damayaza, and who, on the death of his brother and the accession to the throne by his nephew, had tried to rebel, but was obliged to take to flight and was not heard of subsequently. (1) This man, whose original name was Tha Hla, was elected King of Hanthawadi and called Gwe Min; but subsequently, he assumed the title of Thamein

Taw. He is surnamed Sin-gya Shin in Burmese history, owing to the circumstance of having a piebald elephant (Burmese=Sin-gya) in his possession, though the manner in which he obtained possession of it, was not very creditable to him, having stolen it from the Siamese Lawas. According to another account, he was called so, because he got an elephant (Burmese="Sin") and a tiger (Burmese="Kya" pronounced "gya" when combined with the word "Sin"), soon after he was elected king. The king of Zimmè sent a daughter of his, to be the queen of the new King of Hanthawadi.

Owing to the unsettled condition of Hantha wadi the Burmese governor of Mòttama, Minyè Zeyathu, found it impossible to communicate with Ava. Most probably, he felt insecure to continue to hold his charge, and he therefore migrated to Yodaya, with his family and followers.

The supreme king sent an army down by river to crush the rising of the Talaings. But the power of the Burmese was on the wane, and a desultory struggle between the Talaings and the Burmese followed, with varying success on either side; at one time, the Talaings penetrated as far as the outskirts of Ava, the Burmese capital, and at another, the Burmese attacked Than-lyin, a sea-port town held by the Talaings, and occupied it, but only for a short time.

In the year 1108 (A. D. 1746.), an embassy from Yodaya arrived at Ava, bringing many presents from the King of Yodaya. A detailed description is given in the Hmannan history, as to how His Siamese Majesty's letter and the ambassadors were received at the Burmese capital, but nothing is mentioned of the contents of the letter, the objects of the embassy, and the effect it had on the relations of the two countries. Many presents, in return for those received, were sent with the Siamese envoys.

The new King of Hanthawadi was very fond of hunting elephants. In 1109 (A. D. 1747.), he went to Sittaung, for this purpose, with a few of his ministers and about 2000 men. After some considerable time spent in his favourite pastime, the ministers solicited him to return to Hanthawadi to attend to affairs of the state, but he refused to do so, and even ordered that his queens and concubines be brought to Sittaung. He was requested several times to return to the capital, but he invariably refused. At last, the ministers in Hanthawadi went to Sittaung, accompanied by a force of about 3000 men, with the object of begging the King to return. Sin-gya Shin Thamein Taw mistook that they were coming to seize him, and so he ordered the ministers and the men who were with him, to oppose those who were coming. The ministers from the capital explained that their motives in coming were entirely peaceful, but that as they had met with opposition, they would return and take their revenge on their opponents' wives and children in Hanthawadi. This threat brought the nobles with the King to their senses, and they asked the nobles from Hanthawadi to desist from carrying out their threat, saying that they would try their utmost to induce the king to return. On this mutual understanding, the men who had come from Hanthawadi returned. Suspicion had, however, taken hold of Thamein Taw, and he thought that if he were to return to the capital, he would be "like a fish caught in a net." The nobles begged and implored him to return, but he stood firm. At last, taking with him about 300 men, 100 horse, and 10 elephants, he went away to Zinmè. There, he was not hospitably received, and he went on to Yodaya, only to meet a worse treatment. He was put in chains and sent away to China. The Chinese authorities sent him back to Anan. Thence, he was driven, successively, to Sanpa, Pathet, Lawaik, Bugyi, Bugyo, Thalôn Nawbwa, and finally back to Zinmè, where his

unpleasant itinerary came to an end, and he was permitted, at last, to reside in peace.

When the nobles in Hanthawadi heard of the flight of Singya Shin to Zinmè, they elected one Ne-Ko, an ex-monk, to be their king. The nobles left behind at Sittaung, on the other hand, elected Binnya Dala, from among themselves, to be their king. Binnya Dala, at first, refused to accept the high honour conferred on him by his companions, and it was only on the threat of forfeit of his life, that he consented to be king. They all returned to Hanthawadi, with Binnya Dala at the head. On arrival at the capital, Binnya Dala was received in a friendly way by the king whom the home party had already elected. After some discussion as to who would be most qualified to direct the destinies of the Talaings, the nobles unanimously deposed Ne-ko, and raised Binnya Dala to the throne of Hanthawadi.

The Hmannan history mentions that this Binnya Dala had come from Zinmè, as an elephant keeper, with the elephants taken away thence to Ava. He evidently possessed some natural abilities, as he was afterwards made chief of the elephant keepers, and transferred to Hanthawadi. At the commencement of the reign of the Gwe King, Thamein Taw, his abilities were further recognised, by being created a minister of state, with the title of Binnya Dala, his original name, or perhaps the name given him by the Burmese King, being Maung Aung Hla.

The new King of Hanthawadi appointed one of his younger brothers as Upayaza, and conferred the title of Binnya Dala on another younger brother.

For some time past, the whole country, that is both Burma proper and Hanthawadi, had been in a very disturbed state, and the power of the King of Burma, who had his seat of government in Ava, was fast declining. The colony of Gwe people living at a

place called Ok-po to the east of Nga-Singaing rose in open revolt, and at their persuasion, the colony of Talaings at Madaya joined them. They appealed to Hanthawadi to come up with an army, saying that all the Talaings in the upper country had rebelled. From that time, the struggle between the Burmans and the Talaings began, but the fighting of the opposing parties was neither properly planned nor skilfully conducted, until the year 1113 (A. D. 1751.). At the close of the rains in that year, the King of Hanthawadi despatched an army both by land and by water, to attack Ava. The land forces, which consisted of 20,000 men, were led by the King's brother Binnya Dala, while the forces by water, also consisting of 20,000 men, were under the command of the Upayaza. The Talaing army overcame every attempt, made by the Burmese, to check their progress, and before long, they encamped very close to Ava. They were joined by the Gwe Talaings from Ok-po and Madaya. The city was closely invested by the Talaings. For the last ten years or so, there had been no peace and quiet in upper Burma; the cultivation of food grains had, in consequence, been interrupted, and the granaries of the King and of the people had been almost empty, when the investment began; the city was, therefore, in the worst position to withstand a siege. The inhabitants offered a stout resistance, subsisting on roots and leaves, when grain and other provisions were exhausted. At one time, the besiegers were on the point of raising the siege and returning to Hanthawadi, when they learned, from some of the besieged, whom hunger had driven from the city to seek refuge elsewhere, that the besieged would not be able to hold out much longer. The Talaings continued the siege, and eventually succeeded in entering the outer city on Monday the 6th. of waxing Tagu 1113 (April 1752), and the inner city, two days later. The defenders were so feeble and weak, owing to starvation, that many of them were not able even to keep

hold of their weapons. The Burmese king and his family were captured, and the town was given up to plunder.

The Talaings administered the oath of allegiance to all the officials of the principal provinces, towns, and villages lying round about Ava, except to those of the village of Môtsobo. The Upayaza and Binnya Dala decided to return to Hanthawadi, without waiting to see to the submission of Môtsobo, giving as reasons for their decision, that the towns to the east of Môttama, Dawè, Myeik (Eng: Mergui), and Taninthari still required their attention, and that should these towns, which were contiguous with the territory of Yodaya, appeal to Yodaya for help and obtain it, there might be some difficulty to subjugate them. This decision of the two chief officers of the Talaing army was a death blow to the continued independence of the Talaings; because it was from Môtsobo that the future vanquisher of the Talaings arose. They left in Ava a force of fifteen brigades, 45,000 strong, with Thalaban as commander-in-chief, to carry on the work of pacification. They then returned by water with a force of thirty brigades, taking with them the Burmese King and his family, many Burmese high officials, and notable persons. The unfortunate King survived his fall for about three years; in the year 1116 (A. D. 1754), on the pretext that he had planned a conspiracy, in company with some of his old Burmese officials and attendants, he and some of his children were drowned in the river.

With the death of this king, who is also known as "Hanthawadi-Yauk-Min", from the fact of his being taken a prisoner to Hanthawadi, the dynasty, of which Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata was the most illustrious and capable member, came to an end. Then a new Burmese hero arose in the person of Maung Aung Zeya, subsequently known as Alaung Mintayagyi, who founded a dynasty which ended, with the deposition of King Thibaw by the British, in November 1885.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative.

**Thado Dhamma
Raja succeeds.**

At the time of his (') death his two brothers, Thado Dhammâ Râjâ and Mengrè Kyoaswâ, were employed in settling affairs with the chief of Kyaing Yun. The son, styled Mengrè Dippa, was born of an interior woman, and the nobles were averse to acknowledge him as king. As great delay was likely to occur in the arrival of the brothers, to prevent disturbance he was consecrated. The two tributary kings, on learning the death of their brother, marched rapidly to Ava. Though deeply suspicious of each other, they joined their forces together. They reached Pânyâ, and found that a son of Ngyanng Ram Meng had already been appointed governor of Ava. Thado Dhammâ Râjâ now took post at Tarukmyu, while the other brother proceeded to meet an army which was marching up from Pegu to fight them, but with the leaders of which Mengrè Kyoaswâ was in communication. The soldiers of this army were Burmese of the upper country ; their families were in the power of the two brothers ; and they were not well disposed towards the parricide king. The king of Arakan had marched an army cross the hills in support of Mengrè Dippa, but effected nothing. Thado Dhammâ Râjâ overcame all opposition at Ava, and entered that city. His brother loyally supported him, and he, as acknowledged successor, then marched south. Before he could reach the city of Pegu, Mengrè Dippa had been seized by the commander of the palace guard.

March, A. D. 1629.
**September, A. D.
1629.**

(1) King Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ also known as Anaukphet Lwun Meng. (Thien).

Thado Dhammā Rājā at once assumed the government, but would not then be consecrated. He proceeded to Zimmè, and was absent for two years. **April, A. D. 1632.** On his return he was solemnly consecrated king according to the ancient ceremonies, in the presence of Burmese, Talaing, and Shân nobles. This ceremony took place in a grand pavilion put up for the purpose, for the palace had not been rebuilt since the destruction of the city more than thirty years before. Although the king sought to conciliate his Talaing subjects, a conspiracy among them was discovered. Many were put to death and many fled to Siam and Arakan. **A. D. 1634.** After two years the king proceeded to Ava, and was consecrated there also. His brother Mengrè Kyoaswâ was declared heir-apparent.

**Ava again made
the capital.**

A. D. 1636.

He now decided on making Ava the capital of his dominions. In celebration of this event he founded a great pagoda in the ancient hemispherical form, copied from the shape of the dagobas in Ceylon. It is known as the Kaungmhudoa, and is on the right bank of the Irāwadi, about five miles from Sagaing. The king's weight of gold was devoted to cast an image of Buddha, which was enshrined in the lower relic-chamber.⁽¹⁾ It is also obscurely hinted that a heavenly messenger descended at Taungu and gave a relic of Buddha to a holy man, which was enshrined in a second or upper relic-chamber. It is not stated what the relic was; but Taungu was probably mentioned in the scene of this miracle, as being the city from whence the royal family had sprung, and partly because the tooth-relic received by Bureng Naung from Ceylon, was believed to have been carried there from the city of Pegu, by the king of Taungu, when he returned with the plunder of that place, **A. D. 1599.**

(1) For particulars as to this pagoda, see Crawford's Embassy to Ava, vol i. p. 346, and Yule's Mission, Appendix B. The work was not finished when the king died. The official name of the pagoda is Rājā Muni Sula.

The conduct of the Thado Dhammā Rājā appears to have been irreproachable. Nevertheless his life was endangered from a conspiracy, the leading features of which have been repeated in recent times. The heir-apparent having died, his son was discontented that he was not appointed to succeed to that office. He suddenly assembled a band of armed desperate men, and forced his way into the palace. The king fled by the western gate, and took refuge in a monastery. He then crossed the river and entered a stockade near Sagaing, which was guarded by soldiers. The rebel prince having no influence in the country, a large body of men rallied round their sovereign. The prince came out of the city and was killed fighting. The king then returned to his palace, and all the men of rank who had been forced to join the rebels were with their wives and children burnt as traitors. Thado Dhammā Rājā died after a reign of nineteen years. He is called in the Burmese history Sālwin, because he increased the territory he had received from his father; but this was in the outlying Shān states rather than in the provinces constituting the wealth and strength of the empire.

A. D. 1648.

Bengtalé
succeeds.

He was succeeded by his son Bengtalé, surnamed Gnāhtāp daragā, who completed the great pagoda begun by his father. Not long after this pious duty had been performed, alarming reports reached the capital from the Chinese frontier, where armed bodies of men appeared to threaten an incursion into Burma. To understand this hostile movement it is necessary to refer to events in China. (1)

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The occupation of the country by these bands interfered with agriculture, and a scarcity of rice

(1) Du Halde's China, vol. i. p. 226, London, 1688; Modern Universal History (China), p. 299; History of the two Tartar Conquerors of China, by Père I. T. d'Orleans (Hakluyt Society, 1854)

May A. D. 1661. existing in the city, the people accused the king of indifference to their sufferings and of allowing the inmates of the palace to profit by the sale of rice which was stored therein. The king's brother, the prince of Prome, headed the insurrection, took possession of the palace, and the king and his family were sent away and drowned in the Hkyengdweng river. The prince followed up the Chinese, and by the end of the year they had been driven out of the country.

**Maha Pawara
Dhama Raja
succeeds to the
throne.**

The prince of Prome was consecrated king, with the title of Mahâ Pawara Dhammâ Râjâ. He appointed new governors to all the districts of Pegu, where, during the troubles in the north, there had been signs of rebellion.

* * * * *

While the king of Burma was harassed by his Chinese enemies, the southern provinces had become disturbed. The Siamese had many adherents in Martaban, and that city was for a time in the hands of Talaing insurgents. Towards the close of 1662 a Burmese force reoccupied the place, and also Tavoy, but Zimmè fell to the Siamese. Two years later the people of Zimmè forced the Siamese garrison to retire, and the Burmese once more entered.

A. D. 1672.

The king having survived through a period which threatened the downfall of the throne, left the kingdom at his death in a better position than it had been since the death of his father.

**A junior member
of the royal
family made king,
Maha Dhamma-
Raja.**

His son Narawara succeeded him, but died within the year. The nobles then consulted as to his successor, and, passing over several elder princes, selected the youngest son of the prince of Prome, who was proclaimed king, with the title of Sri Pawara Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ. His elder brothers and other members of the royal family showed signs of active opposition to the young king, and many of them were secretly put to death by the party in power.

**Decline of the
empire.****A. D. 1698.****A. D. 1733.**

The king reigned for twenty-six years. From the absence of powerful enemies internal and external, the kingdom, under vigorous rule might have been restored to the position it had under Ngyaung Ram Meng and his son. But the young king, as years passed, showed no qualities fitted to rule an empire. Though the monarchy suffered no great disaster, its power gradually declined. The chief of Manipur occupied the Kubo valley without any real effort being made to check the encroachment. Other outlying districts were lost. The king, devoid of energy, failed to assert the power of the kingdom, and dying was succeeded by his son, who did nothing to retrieve the losses which had occurred. The reign of the next king, Hsenghpyu Sheng, lasted thirty-five years and is only remarkable for the further decline of the monarchy. A Burmese army was defeated on the frontier of Manipur, and a force which had been sent to occupy Zimmé was driven out. An uncle of the king Pugân Meng, indignant that his nephew should be under the control of a palace faction, raised a rebellion, but was overpowered and fled to Pegu. He passed a wandering life among the Karens and other border tribes; and his son, nurtured in hardy mountain life, was destined to achieve for a short time a high position, while his career had a mysterious ending.

**Reign of Maha
Dhamma Raja
Dibati.**

The son of Hsenghpyu Sheng took the title of Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ Dibati. The Manipuri people advanced into Burmese territory, destroying villages and pagodas in the district of Tabayin. They retired rather to carry off their plunder than to avoid meeting a Burmese force. Two years later they again invaded Burma in great strength, and defeated an army sent against them. So threatening was the danger, that a strong stockade was built at Sagaing, and one to defend the Kaungmhudoa

pagoda, as all Buddhist buildings were destroyed by these Hindoo invaders. They marched down by the route between the Mu and Iráwadi rivers, and took by assault the stockade at the pagoda, but could make no impression on that at Sagaing. After four or five days they retired to their own country. It is probable that they retreated because they were unable to cross the great river; but in the Burmese history it is stated that they had come to fulfil a prophecy of their great Brahman, that if their chiefs bathed in the Iráwadi at Sagaing, all evil would cease in their country. Their object apparently was plunder, and not permanent conquest.

Rebellion in Pegu.

The long-continued degradation of the Burmese monarchy prompted a rising in Pegu. The immediate result of this revolt was surprising by its unexpected success; but the final consequence was a revival of Burmese power under a new dynasty. It will be interesting briefly to review the condition of Pegu at this period. After the removal of the seat of government from Hansáwadi to Ava by Thado Dhammá Rájá, A. D. 1634, the Talaing chronicle seldom mentions events occurring beyond the limit of Pegu. The successive appointments of Burmese governors are noted with sullen monotony, and the only interest shown in passing events, is in the record of damage to the national pagodas from storm or lightning, which appeared to show the displeasure of the powers of nature, or tutelary genii, with foreign rulers. There was a deep conviction among the Talaings that the guardian angel of their ancient city demanded the residence of the king within the walls; and Hsenghpyu Sheng had been persuaded to try and restore prosperity to the land by living there. But he was soon wearied with life in a ruined city, and returned to Ava. The people of Pegu in this reign sank to the depth of misery. Nothing escaped taxation. Even the women's looms were not free. The same rigid exactions were

A. D. 1740.

continued in the next reign. The governor, Maung Thá Aung, was intensely hated; yet he sought to make himself independent, and seeing his opportunity in the confusion during the incursion of the Manipuris, he proclaimed himself king of Pegu. The leading men among the Talaings longed for the ascendancy of their own race, and determined to be rid of him. The hated governor was killed; but the leaders seeing as yet no chance of establishing the independence of their country, petitioned the king, professing their loyalty, and attributing the murder of the governor to a sudden rising against his tyranny. The king of Burma, waiving punishment for the present, appointed as governor his father's brother, Mengrè Aung Naing. He was deemed an honest man, but was received with haughty reserve by the Talaing nobles; and after a few days all his followers were massacred. An insurrection commenced among the people of the Shân colony, whose ancestors had been brought from their own country during the wars of Bureng Naung, and had been settled to the north of the capital of Pegu. They are called by the Burmese, Gwè Shân. Towards the close of the year they marched to the city, and being supported by the Talaing chiefs, seized the governor and put him to death.

A. D. 1740.

**Mengtara Buddha
Kethi elected
king of Pegu.**

There was at this time in the city a man who had been a Buddhist monk, and is said, in the Talaing history, to have been by race a Gwè Shân. He joined the men of his tribe in the city, and was declared king of Pegu, with the title of Mengtará Buddha Kèthi. He was supposed by some to be a son of Pugàn Meng, who had rebelled in the reign of his nephew, Hsenghpyu Sheng and had fled to Pegu. The son had been brought up among the Karens and Gwè Shâns, and had made himself popular among the Talaings, whose language he spoke. Whatever may have been his origin, he was soon firmly established in power, and

by his devotion to the people and kindness of disposition satisfied the expectations formed of him. An army had been dispatched from Ava to suppress the rebellion. It was commanded by Mengrè Kyoa-gaung, but before he could reach the delta he was recalled to defend the north-western frontier against the Manipuris. The Gwè Shân king entered into communication with the chief of Zimmè, whose daughter he married. The Talaings soon forced their king, against his own judgment to march against Prome, and the king of Burma, alarmed at the preparations against him, made his brother joint king, with his palace and court at Sagaing. The Talaing army, unable to take Prome, marched up by the eastern bank of the river, and ravaged the country nearly to the gates of Ava. In this rash expedition it was attacked by the Burmese from the north and south, and had to retreat with great loss. A force sent up the Sittaung river was, however, successful in occupying Taungu.

A. D. 1733-44.

**Prome taken by
the Talaings.**

A. D. 1745.

It would have been well for the cause of Talaing independence had the leaders of the nation been content with making preparations for defence. The occupation of Taungu rather weakened their resources, and the governor of Prome, Thado Meng Khaung, suddenly went down the river and took Syriam by surprise. (1) The place was quickly recovered, but great loss had been sustained, and the country along the river-banks ravaged. The Talaings, however, followed up the Burmese in their retreat, and succeeded in entering Prome. The war was now carried on in the valley of the Irāwadi, and in that of the Sittaung, with varying fortune; and at the close of the next year the Talaings still held the towns of Prome and Taungu.

(1) At this time there was a British factory at Syriam, which had been re-established about twenty years before. It was destroyed on this occasion, it is said, by the Peguans. See Syme's Embassy to Ava, p. 5, and Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory.

A. D. 1746.**Abdication of
the elected
king of Pegu.****Binya Dala
elected king of
Pegu.**

In the following year a Siamese ambassador arrived at Ava, nominally to express the friendship of his master for his brother king, but really to report, from appearances, what might be the issue of the struggle, and so to enable the former to decide what part Siam should take. The Talaings, probably advised from Siam, made a third advance up the Irāwadi, but sustained such heavy losses that they were compelled to retreat to Prome. Soon after an unlooked-for event occurred, more strange than any in the changing fortune of this war. The Gwè Shān king suddenly left his capital, attended by ten leading nobles, with an escort of two thousand men, and proceeded to the town of Sittaung, ostensibly to hunt elephants in the neighbouring forests. Shortly after he sent for the queen and her attendants. He remained at Sittaung for some months, and then announced to the Talaing nobles that he had determined to retire from the kingdom. They entreated him to remain, for he was beloved by the people, but he left for Zimmè, accompanied by his queen and a strong guard. His after history may at once be told. Not allowed then to remain in Zimmè, he wandered through Laos and Cochin-China, and entered China. He returned after some years, and was permitted to settle in Zimmè. The only explanation of this conduct is given in the Talaing chronicles. It is there stated that the Gwè king was a proficient in astrology; that casting his own horoscope, the result portended disaster; and that in a self-sacrificing spirit he resigned the throne, hoping that the destiny of the Talaing people might be linked with one whose good fortune was assured.

As soon as his departure was known at the capital of Pegu the usual intrigues commenced, and a scribe in the palace played for a few days the part of king. But among the officers who had accompanied the Gwè Meng to Sittaung one was pre-eminent in ability. He bore the title of Binya Dāla, a designation famous in Talaing history. His colleagues

A. D. 1746.

unanimously saluted him as king. He at once made for the capital, where no resistance was made, and the presumptuous scribe was put to death. This event occurred in the spring of the year. The elected king was probably of Shân race. The Burmese history states that he had originally come to Pegu from Zimmè with elephants; was made master of the elephants under the Gwè king, and gradually acquired great influence. The Talaing chronicle is silent as to his race and early life, but, referring to the legend of the founding of the city of Hansâwadi, records that he was chosen king in fulfilment of the divine prediction regarding native rulers. He was consecrated with great solemnity, and proclaimed with the title of Phrâmindi Râjâ Narabidati. Among the people, however, he is now known by his first title of nobility. His younger brother was created Yuva Râjâ. After the ceremony of consecration, he made a stirring address to the assembled court. He spoke of the former prosperity and grandeur of the country; of the high renown of his predecessors; of the divine prediction at the founding of the city, that it was to be sacred and free for ever from the ownership and rule of foreigners; of the subordination of the kings of Ava and of other kings to the sovereign of Pegu; and announced that the empire of Bureng Naung would again be established with its ancient magnificence, and an army be raised, of which Talabân would be commander-in-chief. This is the first mention of a name to this day famous in Pegu.

Such an open declaration of plans by the king was unusual in the countries of Indo-China, but was probably considered necessary by Binya Dalâ, in order to show his devotion to the interest of the kingdom to which he had been elected. He must have known, that a larger and better appointed army than had yet been embodied, would be required to accomplish the desired end; yet for three years a desultory warfare were carried on, from which no decisive result

**War carried on
languidly.**

could be gained. The conquest in view could only be achieved by the capture of Ava, and to effect that, a large army and flotilla were essential, as well as a stock of provisions to supply the besieging army for at least six months. These requirements the Talaings appear to have been unable to fulfil. But having possession of the frontier towns of Prome and Taungu, mixed bodies of Talaings and Gwè Shâns made incursions, which, for the most part, the Burmese were unable effectually to resist. At one time they penetrated beyond Ava, apparently with the design of forming a league with the Shâns of the Upper Irâwadi. Some of the Gwè tribe had long been settled at Madarâ, a few miles from the eastern bank of the river above Ava. A party of the invaders, finding themselves isolated from their main body, entrenched themselves at that place, and were supported by the Gwè Shâns. They soon found themselves in dire extremity from scarcity of food, and sent messengers to Pegu imploring help.

A. D. 1750.

The king of Burma had sent envoys to the Emperor of China, representing the great danger which threatened his kingdom, and asking for support. In reply to this appeal two Chinese or Manchu officers arrived at the capital, with an escort of one hundred horsemen and a thousand foot. They suggested that an attack should be made on the Talaing stockade at Madarâ. This was done, and as it failed, the Chinese officers retired without making any promise of assistance.

**Grand invasion
of Burma.**

At length the king of Pegu had assembled an army, which, including all followers, numbered sixty thousand men. A numerous flotilla of war-boats kept command of the river, and was necessary to protect the hundreds of boats laden with provisions and other stores, essential to the success of the expedition. Symes, who gathered his information some forty-five years later from persons who had witnessed the operations of this war, states, that the

A. D. 1751.

Peguans procured firearms from European traders, and had in their service renegade Dutch and native Portuguese. The Talaing army would, therefore, have a considerable advantage over its enemies. The first move was made when the rainy season had somewhat abated. Yuva Râjâ nominally commanded the invading army, but the real leader was Talabân. The advance was made by the line of the Irawâdi only ; and the Yuva Râjâ, passing Prome, proceeded with his army by land and water to Malwun. From thence the army, one division having been left with the flotilla, marched by the western bank of the river, where the districts had escaped occupation in the previous years and could now yield supplies. The invaders encountered no opposition, but at the Mu river met a body of Manipuris, which had come to observe events, and retreated without showing hostility. Early in the year

A. D. 1752.

the great Talaing army appeared at Sagaing, and the flotilla having arrived, crossed the river and invested Ava. The Talaing and Gwê Shân garrison of Madarâ came down, and joined the invading army. In the city the king, the court, and the citizens were in despair. No adequate defensive preparations had been made, and food soon became scarce. The soldiers of the garrison began to desert whenever they had the opportunity. In the latter days of March the besiegers entered the outer city. It was set on fire. The inner city, where was the palace, was surrounded by a wall, high and strong. But the soldiers who should have defended it, were disheartened by the neglect of their superiors, and weakened by hunger. After two days the besiegers were unopposed, and they forced the gates. The foremost soldiers rushed to the palace. The king of Burma, the last who could claim descent from the dynasty of Pugân, was found in a large hall, surrounded by his queens and their women attendants. He made no resistance, and the Burmese history admits that the invaders behaved gently. When the Yuva Râjâ arrived, orders were given for the accommodation of the royal captives, and they were put on

Ava captured.

board boats to be sent to Pegu. The king lived there, a prisoner but well treated, for two years, when he was put to death on suspicion of having conspired against Binya Dála.

The city of Ava was burnt to the ground. The Yuva Râjâ, not foreseeing that any further resistance would be made by the Burmese people, returned after a few weeks to Pegu. He took with him the greater part of the army, and left Talabân in command, with orders to establish the rule of the Talaing king in the upper country.

APPENDIX.

After the publication, in the Siam Society Journal, Volume V part 1., of the translation of portions of the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi which have reference to Siam, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., M.R.S.A., Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Burma, a corresponding member of the Siam Society, very kindly pointed out to me, certain errors into which I had inadvertently fallen. In the last line but one, on page 7 of the Journal, I said that Bayin Naung was of royal blood; and again in lines 10 and 11 from the bottom on page 36, I said that Toungoo was the birth-place of Mintara Shweti and Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata. Both these statements, with reference to Bayin Naung, are wrong. The origin of the man, so famous in Burmese history for his many successful invasions of Siam, is best told by quoting below, the written account of him, so kindly given me by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, to whom I desire to express my deep sense of gratitude, and sincere thanks for his kindness in pointing out the errors. It is my earnest wish that these errors should not be perpetuated, by allowing them to stand as they are.

NAI THIEN.

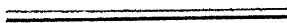
“Branginoco or Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin.”

“In Burma, traditional history is somewhat different from recorded history, because historiographers are anxious to hide the humble origin of their royal patrons. The following is the traditional history of Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin, the Branginoco of the Portuguese writers, who flourished in the 16th century A. D. :—There was a toddy-climber at Ngathayauk, a village in the Pagan Township. He had a son born to him, and the child was named Maung Cha Det because a number of white ants swarmed round him during the early days of his birth. As Pagan

was, as it is now, an arid locality, often subjected to drought and scarcity, the family migrated south to Taungdwingyi, where both food and work were plentiful. One day, while the father was climbing a toddy tree in order to tap its juice, the mother laid the infant on the ground and went elsewhere. During her absence, a big serpent came and coiled itself round the child without doing any harm to it. When the mother returned to the spot, she saw the reptile gently gliding away. The father and mother put their heads together and as they were unable to interpret the omen, they appealed to a learned Buddhist monk, who was well versed in astrological and other mystic lore. They handed the child's horoscope to the recluse and explained to him their own poor circumstances, where they came from originally, and the incidents connected with the white ants and the harmless snake. On learning the direction, in which the serpent had glided away, the monk said: "Go to Toungoo, where a monarchy has been established under Mingyi Nyo. The child certainly possesses signs of greatness and prosperity." His horoscope is an excellent one. If you wish to benefit yourselves by the good fortune of your son, you must forthwith remove to a place, which is 'patirūpadesa,' 'an appropriate abode' according to the precepts laid down in the *Maṅgalasutta*." Following his advice, the family went to Toungoo and put up under a monastery, whose *sadda* or abbot happened to be the preceptor of the king. Just then, a son had been born in the palace who was eventually known as Tabin-shwe-ti, and orders had gone forth to search for a strong and healthy wet nurse, who was free from moral and physical blemish. The abbot introduced the toddy climber's wife into the Palace, and she was immediately accepted by the queen. The king also had a daughter, and the three children grew up together. The queen noticed the unpardonable intimacy between the Princess and Maung Cha Det, and report-

ed the matter to the king. Owing to the intervention of the *Sadaws*, his offence was condoned, and a subordinate post in the palace was assigned to him. He was so strenuous and assiduous in the discharge of his duties, that he received promotion, step by step, till he became a military officer of high rank. When Mingyi Nyo died, Tabin-shwe-ti succeeded his father. For his great services in the wars between Toungoo and Pegu, the title of "Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata"—"Kyawdin Nawrata, the elder brother of the King"—was conferred on him. He eventually succeeded Tabin-shwe-ti as king of Toungoo and Pegu, and was one of the greatest figures in Burmese history. Two of his brothers served him as Governors of Toungoo and Prome, and his son, the Nyaungyan Prince, founded a dynasty at Ava, which ruled united Burma from 1599 to 1751 A. D., when it was subverted by the Talaings. It will thus be seen that Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin had not a drop of royal blood in his veins, and that he was the son-in-law of Mingyi Nyo, King of Toungoo, and the brother-in-law of the celebrated Tabin-shwe-ti."

NOTES SUR
L'IMPRIMERIE AU SIAM.



L'IMPRIMERIE AU SIAM.

Les éléments des notes qui suivent ont été fournies il y a quatre ans par la mission catholique et par la ministère des Affaires Etrangères à la Légation de France, qui a bien voulu en permettre la publication. Elles présentent en l'absence d'une étude plus approfondie un certain intérêt.

Le Dr. Frankfurter ayant bien voulu nous communiquer la " Relation du Voyage des Ambassadeurs de Siam en France " de Devize, ouvrage presque introuvable aujourd'hui, nous avons pu ajouter à ces notes le récit assez curieux de la visite que les Ambassadeurs firent à l'Imprimerie Royale à Paris au mois de Décembre 1686.

P. PETITHUGUENIN.

Documents communiqués par la Légation de France.

La Mission Catholique établie à Ayuthia en 1662 paraît avoir, imprimé en caractères romains un certain nombre d'ouvrages religieux en langue siamoise, une grammaire et un Dictionnaire. Ces oeuvres étaient dues à Mgr. Louis Laneau, Evêque de Metellopolis. Après la destruction d'Ayuthia la Mission se réorganisa à Bangkok et imprima, en 1794, toujours en caractères romains, un catéchisme et d'autres ouvrages actuellement perdus.

En 1830 l'imprimerie de la Mission était en pleine activité mais ce ne fut qu'en 1850 qu'elle publia pour la première fois un livre contenant des caractères siamois.

Dès 1835, le Conseil des Commissaires des Missions étrangères protestantes introduisit au Siam une presse d'un modèle archaïque en pierre et bois destinée à l'impression d'ouvrages en caractères siamois. Ces caractères avaient été importés du Bengale—ils reproduisaient très exactement l'écriture manuscrite de l'époque, ainsi qu'on peut s'en rendre compte par l'examen des exemplaires de la grammaire de James Low (" a grammar of the Thai or Siamese language " by James Low) pour l'impression desquels ils furent employés.

Ce fut le Réverend Robinson qui fit sortir de cette presse en 1836 le premier ouvrage en caractères siamois imprimé au Siam. Les spécimens d'ouvrages de cette époque qui tous étaient d'un caractère religieux sont aujourd'hui introuvables.

En 1837, de nouveaux caractères furent adressés des États Unis ainsi que de nouvelles presses sur lesquelles fut imprimée en 1839 la proclamation officielle du Roi Phra Nang Klao, interdisant l'importation de l'opium.

En 1841, le Conseil Américain des Commissaires des Missions étrangères (protestantes) établit une fonderie de caractères pour ses missions du Siam et les types en usage furent peu à peu améliorés jusqu'au modèle actuel qui date de 1847.

Avec ces caractères furent imprimés, en dehors des ouvrages religieux, des manuels d'éducation, des traités sur la vaccine et les notes grammaticales de J. Taylor Jones en 1842 (Brief grammatical notices on the Siamese language).

Vers cette époque la Mission Catholique commençait l'impression en caractères siamois.

Jusqu'en 1866, les seuls caractères employés furent ceux des missionnaires Américains, mais à partir de cette année des types plus conformes aux caractères manuscrits en usage furent fabriqués sur place.

Jusqu'en 1867 le Gouvernement Siamois ne fit imprimer que des documents officiels, puis il fit publier dans quelques circonstances d'anciens manuscrits ayant trait à la grammaire, à l'Histoire, au Folklore. Ces livres aujourd'hui sont épuisés. Quelques uns ont été réimprimés par des éditeurs non-officiels.

De temps à autre sous le règne actuel, et pour certains objets définis, il a été établi une Imprimerie officielle. L'édition jubilaire du Tripitaka fut l'oeuvre d'une imprimerie de ce genre.

Aujourd'hui, le Gouvernement considérant qu'il est préférable que chaque Département surveille l'impression de ses documents il n'existe plus d'Imprimerie officielle.

Le nombre des imprimeries privées est relativement considérable.

Les matrices des lettres sont sans exception importées d'Europe et d'Amérique tandis que la fonte des caractères se fait au Siam.

Les presses, le matériel d'imprimerie et le papier viennent d'Europe ou d'Amérique.

*Visite des Ambassadeurs Siamois à l'Imprimerie Royale à Paris
en 1686.*

“ On les a aussi menés à l'Imprimerie du Roy, dont Mr Mabre-Cramoisy est Directeur. Il y avoit fait mettre plusieurs brasiers, afin qu'il s'y répandist par tout un air chaud. Il les conduisit d'abord au lieu où sont les casses des Compositeurs, pour leur faire voir comment on assemble les caracteres. Ils furent surpris de la vitesse avec laquelle les Ouvriers levoient les lettres, & particulièrement les petites; car l'Ambassadeur fit de luy-mesme la difference des gros & des petits caracteres qu'il confronta les uns contre les autres. Il demanda à Mr. Cramoisy *de quel metal ces lettres estoient, & si on les faisoit en France.* Lors qu'il eut satisfait à ces demandes, l'Ambassadeur poursuivit en disant *que l'on trouvoit toutes choses en France, & qu'elle pouvoit se passer de tous les autres Païs.* M Cramoisy fit ensuite lier des pages, & mesme imposer une Forme devant eux, & les mena aussi-tost dans la Salle où sont les Presses au nombre de douze, toutes roulantes. Leur surprise augmenta d'abord, & l'Ambassadeur dit en entrant à M Cramoisy, & en s'arrestant à considerer les mouvements des 24. hommes qui faisoient aller les Presses, *qu'il croyoit voir des Soldats rangez en bataille.* M Cramoisy luy répondit, *que s'ils n'étoient pas Soldats, ils employoient leur vie aussi utilement pour le service du Roy; que le plus grand travail de l'Imprimerie n'avoit presentement pour but que la gloire de Sa Majesté & qu'à bien examiner les choses, il n'y avoit pas moins de merite à apprendre aux Nations les plus éloignées, & à la posterité même, les grandes actions de Sa Majesté, qu'à prendre des Villes, & à gagner des Batailles.* L'Ambassadeur luy répondit *qu'il ne s'étonnoit pas de voir tant de Travailleurs, & qu'il n'y en pourroit jamais avoir assez. pour publier les grandeurs inouïes du Roy & de la France.* Ils s'attachèrent ensuite à examiner le travail de chaque Presse, & l'Ambassadeur fit plusieurs questions à Mr Cramoisy sur l'ancre & sur les balles, & luy demanda pourquoy le papier estoit mouillé, après quoy il mania beaucoup de choses pour les mieux

connoître. Le second Ambassadeur prit un bareau, tira cinq ou six feuilles, & parut fort surpris, de ce que les feuilles qu'il avoit tirées, estoient venuës toutes pareilles aux autres. Ils entrèrent apres dans le Magasin, où Mr Cramoisly leur fit entendre comment on étend les feuilles mouillées, comment on les assemble, après qu'on les a sechées. & la maniere dont on fait des corps complets de Livres. Ils les pria ensuite de monter dans un petit Cabinet, où il leur fit voir les Poinçons des Caracteres Grecs du Roy, que François I. a fait faire, & qui sont tres-beaux. Mr Cramoisly leur montra aussi des Caracteres Arabes nouvellement fondus, sur quoy le premier Ambassadeur luy dit *qu'on pourroit donc faire des Caracteres Siamois, & avoir une Imprimerie à Siam ?* Il luy répondit *que ouy. & qu'il ne falloit que le vouloir.* L'Ambassadeur leva aussi-tôt les yeux au Ciel, & fit une maniere de cry. Mr. Cramoisly demanda à l'Interprete ce que l'Ambassadeur disoit, & il luy répondit qu'il avoit dit, *ô France, France !* Ils sortirent ensuite de l'Imprimerie apres avoir remercié Mr Cramoisly, qui leur dit en les reconduisant, *qu'il s'estimoit heureux que de si grands Seigneurs fussent venus de si loin voir son travail, & qu'ils yeussent pris du plaisir."*

THE ABBÉ DE CHOISY.

LIBERTINE, MISSIONARY, ACADEMICIAN.



By RONALD W. GIBLIN,
(Late of the Royal Survey Department, Siam)
Cheltenham.

The Abbé de Choisy.

LIBERTINE, MISSIONARY, ACADEMICIAN.

THE investigation of the historical features connected with a certain phase in the career of the Abbé de Choisy, namely that comprehended in his journey to Siam in 1685 and 1686, in the character of an ecclesiastical and diplomatic missionary, led the present writer to make some study of the other two phases which, with the one mentioned, filled up the life of that most remarkable man.

SO far as we can discover no notice of de Choisy has appeared in English and it would seem, therefore, well worth while to make some investigation into a personality and a life which, as Sainte-Beuve has put it, presented a comedy of a most diverse and least probable kind. Such an enquiry should cover the whole ground traversed by his many sided and ill-balanced nature, for de Choisy was a man who, without any very striking ability and certainly without any great depth of character, yet managed to play successfully and to his heart's content three parts, albeit the first of these was one of which he had every reason to be, but never was, ashamed.

AS a voluptuary, as an apostle of Christianity and as an Academician, de Choisy had it in him to attract from those with whom he came in contact the attention, the love and the personal admiration that his heart craved for, although there was ever lacking the esteem and approval to which he was, unfortunately for his good name, too indifferent.

HE was on terms of friendship with the eminent Cardinals, de Retz and de Bouillon, the latter a close and life long friend; he was an associate with those agreeable wits and authors, Fontenelle and Perrault; he was converted and loved by the Abbé de Dangeau,

the brother of the Memoirist, and he formed a quick and mutual attachment with that brilliant but bitter satirist the Count de Bussy-Rabutin. For much public recognition during his lifetime and for much forgiveness the Abbé had no doubt to thank his birth and position in the Court circles of Louis XIV, but the fact remains that some part of his work as a writer has received praise of no light order at the hands of eminent critics. The Marquis d'Argenson Prime Minister of France and a relation of de Choisy, in his "Essays written after the manner of de Montagne," devotes some space to the character and writings of his kinsman, much of whose historical work he recommends for perusal. Sainte Beuve has devoted to the Abbé one of his immortal *Critiques*, while Paul Lacroix, (the "Bibliophile Jacob"), and M. de Lescure have each penned an agreeable *Avant-Propos* to reprints of one or other of his works. In 1888, M. de Lescure, when editing for the Librairie des Bibliophiles, a new edition of the "Mémoires de l'Abbé de Choisy pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV" stated that that work had been chosen to take the first place in a select series of Mémoires and spoke of it as almost a master-piece of its kind and as one of the jewels and triumphs of French genius and literature.

Before giving a slight biographical sketch of the Abbé it should be stated that most of the salient points of his career have been derived by biographers and essayists from his own writings, and it is also from these that must be drawn the chief outlines of his bizarre and extraordinary character.

François Timoleon de Choisy was born in Paris in 1644, the year being the second of the reign of Louis XIV. His father had been Chancellor of Gaston, brother of Louis XIII, and had made some reputation in carrying out certain political negotiations, while his mother "a masterful woman" as her son describes her, was a distinguished adherent of the royal house, and being likewise thoroughly worldly never failed to impress on her three sons, of whom the Abbé was the youngest, the advisability and advantage of attaching themselves to the highest and most influential people of the Court. She is even credited with having, on one occasion, advised Louis XIV himself to seek her own company for instruction in the conduct of life; certainly the King paid her the

compliment of following her advice and treated her with great consideration and kindness, for had she not put the finishing touches to his "education amoureuse" while he was still a young man?

A vain as well as an intriguing woman, Madame de Choisy conceived the weird idea of dressing her youngest son as a girl, with the deliberate intention of thereby making herself appear more youthful by way of contrast with her childish looking offspring. She had the further motive of pleasing, by the flattery of imitation, Monsieur, the King's brother, who, as is well known, had been brought up by Mazarin in a most effeminate manner, for political reasons.

This unfortunate notion being actually carried out developed in the future churchman and historian a taste for masquerading as a woman, which lasted, if we are to believe all that is told of the Abbé, practically the whole of his life, while it undoubtedly suggested and facilitated his practice of libertinism. In 1763, through the influence of his mother, who wished him to devote his life to the church, he was given the Abbey de Saint Seine, in Burgundy, and in 1666, on the death of his mother he was left with the means to enter on the first chapter of his variegated career. Up to the age of 18 young de Choisy possessed and wore none but girls' clothing, for four years this was put aside for his proper attire, but when 22 years old, having lost his mother, a vista opened itself out before his eyes of unrestrained indulgence in that unnatural state of living as a woman which is explained by him as having been caused by an immense and overpowering love for being loved and for the admiration that attractive and beautiful women are able to draw to themselves. We shall be able to see something of his state of mind and attitude at this period from his own words, but there can be no doubt that success in his masquerade engendered, as time went on, the desire to make it something more than a mere display and rather the means to assist him in pursuing a systematic course of vice. It is to be remarked that the record of this period comes from his own narrative penned, as d'Argenson tells us, some time after he had quitted the singular and ridiculous life he had led. It would appear that moved by reflection or advice he obliterated from the manuscripts he left some of the worst pages dealing with that dissolute and unwholesome time, yet his kinsman

records the relation by the old Abbé of his early follies with an unspeakable pleasure. "I looked with astonishment," says the Marquis, "at a man whose whole life had been full of such strange improprieties."

We are told that the face and figure of the Abbé, as well as his lack of beard, lent themselves to the artifice by which he was able to play so well his feminine character, but must appear to a twentieth century mind as so amazing, so almost inexplicable, not to say ridiculous, is the kind of being which could find pleasure in posing as a woman and the state of society which could permit it. For it is to be noted that much of the Abbé's masquerading was done quite openly and in public, and it was only when the intention was more sinister—or, shall we say, when he desired to put forth his best efforts as an artist?—that the complete disguise of sex was adhered to.

For some years this mode of life was indulged in with all the zest of gaiety and light-heartedness with which the Abbé threw himself into everything he took in hand. It was not, however, without its humiliations, and a rebuke from the Duke de Montausier, the guardian or governor of the Dauphin, administered to de Choisy at the opera, and in the Dauphin's presence, drove him from Paris and induced him to travel.

"I admit," said the Duke to him, "I admit, Monsieur or Mademoiselle (for I do not know how you should be called) that you are beautiful. But truly, are you not ashamed to wear such clothes and to play the woman, when you are lucky enough not to be one? Go, go and hide yourself. Monsieur the Dauphin is disgusted to see you so."

"Pardon me", said the little Prince, then eleven years old. "I think he is as beautiful as an angel."

De Choisy now entered on what might be called the third scene of Act I of his drama. He visited England, travelled in Italy and spent some years in Venice and Rome, where, as he says, on the principle that one passion chases another away, he developed a propensity for gambling which, in accordance with his nature, was carried to excess, and he returned to France in

1676 a ruined man. Strict economy was now necessary, at least for a time, and he spent a few months at his Abbey. He also made the acquaintance of and stayed with the Count de Bussy-Rabutin, author of "L'histoire amoureuse des Gaules," then in exile on his estate in Burgundy. A warm friendship sprang up between them and the Count advised him to give up play and become an author. The Abbé acted on this advice but not immediately. He returned to Paris, took up again his dissolute life there and thereby earned another rebuke, this time from Louis XIV himself, who ordered him to mend his ways. He was then thirty-two years old.

The Abbé's good fortune in the form of his life-long friend, the Cardinal de Bouillon, furnished an opportunity to leave France again. The two French Cardinals, de Retz and de Bouillon, who were deputed to proceed to Rome to take part in the election of a successor to Clement X, took de Choisy with them in an official capacity. In this way he found an opening to get behind the scenes in the selection and elevation of Innocent XI to the papal throne, this experience being perhaps his first introduction to serious diplomacy.

Little is recorded of the next few years but that there were relapses to early habits is evident, for it is stated that a long and dangerous illness, which occurred in 1683, was necessary to bring about the change required for a partial if not absolute quittance of the old for the new character he was about to assume. Having been converted during his sickness by his friend, the Abbé de Dangeau, a seceder from Protestantism, who remained in constant and devoted attendance at his bed-side, he collaborated with de Dangeau in the composition and publication of four religious dialogues, whose titles indicate the stress of his mind at that period.

It was about this time that the French Government decided to send a political mission to Siam, in which country that remarkable Greek adventurer, Constantine Phaulkon, by his skill and daring had gained considerable power, and had possessed himself of the goodwill and favour of the reigning monarch, himself a notable leader. It is an open question how far Phaulkon's ambitions

were carrying his hopes at that time, but it is certain that if not aspiring to regal power for himself, he was at least deeply intent on the establishment of cordial relations between France and Siam, to which the conversion of the King of Siam to Christianity might be a possible preliminary and an influential bait to French religious zeal. Louis XIV had already nominated the Chevalier de Chaumont as the first French ambassador to Siam when de Choisy heard of the mission and at once pictured himself at its head. Disappointed in this hope he succeeded, through the influence of Cardinal de Bouillon, in securing an appointment, the nature of which was his own suggestion, as missionary coadjutor to the political ambassador, and in March 1685, he set sail with de Chaumont for the East.

The Abbé had now entered on Act II of his life and he felt himself carried along with a zeal for work and that relish for new surroundings, new sensations and impressions, which was characteristic of his nature. It was whilst he was in Siam that de Choisy by the complaisance of a foreign bishop was allowed to enter into holy orders, and on the return voyage he preached his first sermon, which he thought a somewhat bold proceeding at the age of 42.

The experiences of the mission are given, purely from the Abbé's point of view, in his journal "*Voyage de Siam*" which was published in Paris in 1686, after the return to France of the two ambassadors. "They surrounded us like bears", says the Abbé of the French courtiers, and the King had innumerable questions to put his returned diplomatists. In his "*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV*" published after the Abbé's death, he relates a scrape he got into owing to his action, concerning some of the beautiful presents sent to France by the King of Siam. The unfortunate Abbé when in the East had arranged that some of these should be diverted into the hands of his friend and patron, the Cardinal de Bouillon. But on his return, lo! the Cardinal was in deep disgrace and in exile, and de Choisy was convicted of a piece of presumption which served him ill with his King. Later on the Abbé's attendance at Court became requisite when the Siamese ambassadors, who had travelled to Europe with the Chevalier de Chaumont, arrived in Paris and

needed the advice and assistance of a courtier and an interpreter.

His work as a missionary now over the Abbé de Choisy entered on the third and last stage of his career. Following up the "Voyage de Siam" with a History of King David and a Translation of the Psalms, which he dedicated and presented to the King he received once more the royal recognition so eagerly sought for. He does not seem to have forfeited this, or even jeopardised it, by any return to his "youthful pranks," his euphemism for early follies, though he was suspected of indulging occasionally in one weakness, by dressing himself up as a woman, though in strictest privacy, sighing the while that he could no longer fill his former part with satisfaction to himself, or excite once more the admiration for his good looks which had been his in earlier days.

In 1687 the French Academy honoured the Abbé by electing him a member, and the rest of his life was devoted to the composition of historical and biographical records. The chief of these works was a History of the Church, the first volume of which was published in 1703, and the eleventh and last volume in 1723. The publication, some time after 1689, of a translation by de Choisy of The Imitation of Christ, with a certain print as frontispiece, scandalized the morals and good taste of even that easy period and the Abbé, who had made presents of copies to some of his friends was compelled to cut out the print from remaining copies. To make his court with Madame de Maintenon, the declared mistress of the King, but also a devotee, de Choisy dedicated his work to Madame, and placed in it a pretty engraving, representing that lady kneeling at the foot of the cross, and below, an extract in Latin from the 45th Psalm, which runs thus "Hearken, O daughter and consider; forget also thine own people and thy father's house. So shall the King greatly desire thy beauty, for he is thy Lord, and worship thou him". The authenticity of this story has been contested, but we have it on the authority of the Marquis d'Argenson, who adds "He would not give me even a copy with the print. The Bibliomanes bought it very dear."

In 1724 the Abbé de Choisy, Prior of Saint Lo in Rouen, of Saint Benoist du Sault and of Saint Gelais, and Grand Dean of the Cathedral of Bayeux, died in Paris in his 81st year.

It is from the "Histoire de Madame La Comtesse des Barres," first published in 1735, and reprinted in fuller form in 1870 under the title "Aventures de l'Abbé de Choisy habillé en femme," from the "Voyage de Siam", published in 1786, and from the "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV," first published in 1727, a trio which alone of the Abbé's works is worthy of consideration at this date, that the best and most intimate impression of his character can be obtained. "La Vie de M. l'Abbé de Choisy," published in 1742 anonymously, but ascribed variously to the Abbé d'Olivet and to Lenglet-Dufresnoy, was dependent for most of its information on the works just named. Still it has the advantage of presenting him from the point of view obtainable by a contemporary of his later and best spent years.

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From the first two named works the extracts which follow have been taken in order to complete the delineation of a character which, notwithstanding the Abbé's frivolity, his weaknesses, nay, even his vices, still seems to live and breathe through his writings and to appeal to us by his light-heartedness and gaiety and good-nature to overlook his failings and accord him some of that indulgent warmth of feeling and admiring affection for which he craved. Surely a sincerity and a naiveté no less in degree than is attributed to Pepys might be claimed for de Choisy, as well as an equal self revelation which, on account of its very unconsciousness, is so much the more interesting.

"I have searched for the source whence so fantastical a pleasure has come to me," says the Abbé in his "Aventures" referring to his passion for feminine attire. "Here it is. The attribute of God is to be loved and adored. As much as his weakness will allow man has the same ambition; now as it is beauty which brings about the birth of love, and as that is ordinarily a woman's part, when it happens that men possess, or believe they possess, some traits which can make them beloved, they strive to add to them by feminine garments, which are extremely becoming. They feel the inexpressible pleasure of being loved. More than once have I been made conscious of what I have just said by a delightful experience, and when I have been at balls and plays, beautifully gowned and with diamonds and patches, and have

heard it whispered near me, "There is a beautiful being" I have tasted an inward pleasure which can, perhaps, be compared to nothing else so great was it. Ambition, riches, even love, do not equal it, because we always love ourselves better than we love others."

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"I prepared myself as for a festival which would show me off to the public view of a great many people. I had a gown of white Chinese damask made and lined with black silk. I had it trimmed with black ribbons, ribbons on the sleeves and at the back a great knot of black ribbons to set off the waist. I thought that on this occasion a petticoat of black velvet was necessary; as it was October velvet was in fashion. Since then I have always worn two petticoats and I have had my trains turned back with large bunches of ribbon. My head dress was very fine, a little cap of black taffeta covered with ribbons was fastened on to a well powdered wig. Madame de Noailles had lent me her large earrings of diamonds and brilliants, and on the left side of my head I had five or six ruby pins; I wore three or four large patches and more than a dozen small ones. I have always had a great fancy for patches, and there is nothing that becomes me so well. I had a stomacher of Mechlin lace, which appeared to hide a bosom; in short I was decked out finely. I presented the consecrated bread and then made a collection. It is not for me to boast, but they had never made so much money at Saint-Médard before I collected at high mass in the morning after dinner at vespers, and at the benediction. I had as an esquire M. de la Neuville, with a lady's maid to follow me, and three lackeys, one of whom carried my train."

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"At the division with my brothers of our patrimony we were all content. I was delighted at possessing beautiful jewels; I had never had anything but ear-rings worth a few hundreds, whereas I now found myself with ear-rings worth 10,000 francs, a diamond cross worth a hundred thousand and three beautiful rings. Here were the means to adorn and make myself a beauty, for since my infancy I have always loved to dress myself as a girl, and although I was then twenty-two years old my face did not present

any drawback. I had no beard, because from the age of five or six they had been careful to rub my face every day with a certain lotion which killed the hair at the roots provided it was done in good time. My black locks enabled my complexion to pass muster, although it was not very white. I was not then under the restraint of anyone and I gave myself up to my propensity. It happened that Madame de la Fayette, whom I often saw, noticing that I was always very much bedecked with ear-rings and patches, told me, like a good friend, that that was not a fashion for men and that I should do better to dress as a woman. On such good authority I had my hair cut to permit a better coiffure. I wore little ringlets in front and large ones on each side of the face. I had also a woman's gown. I put on the finest of these and went to call on Madame de la Fayette. She cried out on seeing me "Oh, the beautiful creature. You have followed my advice then." That encouraged me, and I continued to dress up as a woman for a couple of months. I paid visits, went to church, to the opera and the play, and it seemed to me that people got used to it. I had a portrait of myself painted by an Italian artist which people went to see, in short my style of living thoroughly satisfied me. I went to the Palais Royal whenever Monsieur was in Paris, he gave me innumerable tokens of friendship for our inclinations were similar, he too had a great wish to dress as a woman, but he didn't dare to do so because of his dignity; princes are immured in their grandeur."

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The story about the rebuke he received from the Duke de Montausier is given by the Abbé himself. The admonition had a powerful effect and one characteristic of de Choisy.

"I made up my mind to travel in earnest in order to dispel my chagrin; to put aside if I could all my little childish ways, which began to lose their savour—and to betake myself to something more real; I was no longer in that glorious state of youth which excuses everything, but I was still able, if I should so wish, to pass myself off as a woman. I got together all the money I could, placed my affairs in the hands of an agent, and set out for Italy with a jerkin and a sword. I lived there ten years at Rome and at Venice, and ruined myself at play. One passion chases another away, and that of play

takes front rank in this respect. Love and ambition become deadened as one grows old, play re-blossoms when all the rest fade away."

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"A passion for play has possessed me and has unsettled my life. How happy I should have been if I had always done the becoming thing, even if I had appeared unbecoming. Ridicule is to be preferred to poverty."

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We now come to the Abbé's Voyage to Siam. The record of this journey, especially where it deals with the diplomatic mission during the residence in Siam of de Chaumont and de Choisy, gives an interesting and very valuable insight into a part of the most stirring period in the early history of the relations between that country and Europe. That period was important for two reasons, firstly the political missions sent by each of the two countries to the other, and secondly for the revolution which took place in Siam in 1688. De Choisy, it is true, was but an unconscious witness of the first part of that drama which, unknown to him, had already begun and was to culminate two years later in the revolt of the nobility of Siam against the ascendancy of Phaulkon wherein that adventurer lost his life and his schemes, which had drawn two French missions to Siam and launched forth two Siamese missions to Europe, suffered a complete collapse. Nevertheless the Abbé's narrative takes first place in the records of the period covered by the introductory mission. D'Argenson says that "in general the epochs of the arrival of the Siamese ambassadors in France and that of the French in Siam are capable of furnishing many philosophical reflections; it was a political comedy of which there were many in the reign of Louis XIV; they appear ridiculous at present but they contributed to the glory of the monarch and that of the nation; inseparable from each other." He seems however to have overlooked the political importance of development of intercourse with the far East, and it was natural enough, therefore, that the historical value of the records of missions which seemed to him so fruitless in all but glory should have escaped him.

The following extracts from the "Voyage" have been selected

rather on account of their bearing upon the personality of de Choisy than as descriptive of other matters.

"I have not been bored a single moment. The end is in sight. These great events are disentangling themselves. A King to become a Christian, a million souls to follow his example; that perhaps is what we are going to attempt. Was there ever a finer design, and could a more noble idea, a more magnificent thought, enter into the mind of man?"

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"I am always wanting to write and never to read. I protest that is not the way to become a savant. I am as prone to scribble when the pen is in my hand as M. the Prince to play with his sword. Happy posterity if these two instruments were each in its sphere to be employed equally well."

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"We pass our time very well. Hardly has one got up than it is evening; the days fly by like moments. No sooner is one task finished than another begins. The Breviary, lectures, Holy Scripture, the Portuguese language, the Siamese language, the globe, a little chess, good fare withal and some gaiety; improve on that if you can."

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(After some rough weather) "Go to, go to; believe me all will be well. Let us pray to God, and let us drink our Spanish wine, for I have some of that, by the way, which is excellent."

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"I flatter myself in believing that I have struck the good road, and I am hoping much from the good-will of God. How happy I am at having undertaken this voyage. My spirits are still in fine form, always gay, and at one with all the world. If I remain in Siam I don't believe that I shall be bored for two or three years, and if I don't stay there I shall still have this splendid voyage to the good. I shall have had an insight into affairs of some importance. I shall scarcely have offended against God for two years. Alas! perhaps on that account these will be the two best years of my life.

Oh, ! how could we offend God on this ship ! We talk only on good subjects, we see only good examples. Temptations are three or four thousand leagues away from here. To be frank there is not much merit in such a life. I had already made up my mind, before I left Paris, to give myself entirely to the Church. I hope that God will grant me grace to take orders in Siam. That will make me happy, and if this design is brought to a head, shall I not have done well to travel 12,000 leagues."

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"The two forts at Bangkok saluted us as we set out this morning. We saw decorations on the houses facing the river an honour reserved for the King only. All the rest-houses are painted red—another very unusual honour. For two days we have not eaten bread ; good fare, plenty of meat, plenty of rice ! To eat a mouthful of meat and a mouthful of rice, 'tis truly sad for one who loves not rice ; however, we must pass that by."

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M. Constance (Phaulkon) ever courteous in all that he does, has sent the Ambassador a present of porcelain ware, preserves from China, and some Tea. This is some of that famous Tea, so costly and precious which only the Emperor of China uses and of which he sends some to Kings who are friends of his. There is but little of it."

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"I have bought a few little knick knacks to-day ; it is difficult to find them as the English who were here before us, have carried off everything, good and bad alike. It is necessary in order to get hold of curios, to be here in the Months of April and May, when the vessels arrive from China and Japan. Merchants of different nations take everything to send to their own people, and soon one can get nothing at first hand, and is at the mercy of people who are looking for huge profits."

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"M. Constance has let me have a good look at the fine things he wishes to send to France and in a few days we shall go to the store-houses of the King to choose the most beautiful things he has there. If he acts on my advice, and any big gold vases fall into my hand they won't escape."

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"The Siamese Ambassadors who are going to France are taking with them screens, porcelain-ware, Japanese works and tea. You can tell the Ladies that all these pretty things are for the most modest ones. The Siamese love modesty. They must not fail, when they go to inspect them, to carry fans, to wear hoods, to screen themselves well, and only to show their faces when they are begged to do so; those who behave in this way will get something."

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"I have had a great discussion today with M. de Métellopolis and he has decided to give me orders here before I return to France. I have been inclined to take this step for a long time; when one is weak one should not expose oneself to danger, and I believe that these bonds will keep me in the right path. I have no longer any longings for the Opera, and when I am a Priest I hope that God will give me grace to live as a Priest. I have some Benefices and do not wish to leave them."

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"Behold me, then a Priest. What a terrible burden I have undertaken! It must be borne and I believe that God, who knows my weakness, will lighten it for me, and will guide me always along that rosy path which I so fortunately found when escaping from the jaws of death."

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"We have returned from our farewell audience. The Ambassador, the Bishop and I were carried on ordinary chairs. The whole way was lined with troops on foot and on horseback with more than 200 war elephants. The Audience passed with compliments. The King wished us a happy voyage, all this with a smiling countenance which wins every heart."

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"Would you believe it? I am writing a sermon and may perhaps deliver it. Rather bold this, to begin to preach at the age of 42. We shall see how it turns out. I shall know if I fail and shall not forget it."

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“ I made my trial effort to-day and preached for the first time in my life. It will not be the last; that will suffice to let you know that I am not discouraged.”

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As already stated, the Abbé de Choisy in his latest years did something in the way of expurgation by destroying parts of his memoirs which seemed to go beyond the bounds of decency wide as these evidently were in his eyes. All that he did leave behind he bequeathed to his kinsman, the Marquis d'Argenson, who made no use of the papers, beyond drawing a few anecdotes from them, probably because the Abbé d'Olivet had extracted the kernel by publishing, without his permission, what their owner considered the most interesting part, namely the “Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV.” The anonymous author of the Life of de Choisy, whether he was the Abbé d'Olivet as seems most probable, or the Abbé Lenglet-Dufresnoy, as Paul Lacroix believed, also drew his material from these manuscripts, now lying in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. But what is of special interest to us at this date, is that there are still unpublished parts of these writings, and who shall say that others may not be discovered? There is, for instance, the fragment known as “Journal de l'Assemblée du Luxembourg.” D'Argenson refers to this and names some of the members of this little shortlived Academy within the Academy, which met once a week at de Choisy's rooms at the Luxembourg to discuss in secret political and other subjects which might not be brought forward with propriety in the French Academy, that of Sciences and the Academy of Belles Lettres. The Abbés Dangeau, de Choisy, Testu, Renaud and de Caumartin were members, so also were Messieurs d'Herbelot, Perrault, Fontenelle and President Cousin. It was to this inner circle that de Choisy communicated his translation of the “Imitation,” the first edition of this giving rise to the anecdote concerning Madame de Maintenon. There is another fragment the “Recueil de bons mots” not yet published and whence d'Argenson admits having drawn some of the rarer stories it contains.

Where, we may ask, are the two portraits of the Abbé to which he refers in the “Aventures,” one painted by an Italian

artist and both representing him in feminine attire? Here is an opening for research work amongst the pictures of the period which have survived the interval.

We should not take leave of the Abbé without remarking on the good fortune which was his in having had his being in the country and the period most suitable for his peculiar and unique disposition. For many the reign of Louis XIV furnishes one of the most fascinating epochs in history, and to them certainly the career of de Choisy, the Improbable, will be found to contribute a curious page. Louvet de Couvray is credited with having drawn on the life and experiences of de Choisy for his famous novel "Faublas," Roger de Beauvoir boldly named one of his novels "L'Abbé de Choisy," the same romance appearing also under the title "Mademoiselle de Choisy." With regard to the Abbé's own literary work, we should remember that his pen portraits of contemporaries, have not only received Sainte-Beuve's whole-hearted praise, but have been copied into the *Causeries du Lundi*, and finally, that two at least of his works, both posthumous, have survived the elimination wrought by time and been found worthy of reprinting in recent years.

Here is the summary of de Choisy's character from the lips of "a lady well renowned for her wit" an appreciation and a condemnation of himself—that self he loved so well to please—which he would, in his old age quote with gusto:—

"He has lived three or four different lives. As man, as woman, always in extremes, buried either in study or in trifles. Estimable for a courage which carried him to the end of the world, contemptible for the coquetry of a girl, and in all these diversities ever governed by pleasure."

R. W. GIBLIN.

THE MISSION

OF

SIR JAMES BROOKE TO SIAM.

(September 1850)

The Mission

OF

SIR JAMES BROOKE TO SIAM.

(September 1850)

Bowring in giving a resumé of the missions sent by the Western powers to Siam before his own, says of that of his own immediate predecessor, Sir James Brooke :

“As the circumstances attendant upon his [Sir James Brooke's] negotiations were not made public by the British Government (although well known at Bangkok), I am precluded from giving an account of them. Suffice it to say, that all his attempts to conclude a satisfactory treaty with Siam were unavailing, and that he finally broke off his communications with the Siamese Government on the 28th September 1850, and left the country with a very unfavourable impression as to our future prospects of success in establishing commercial relations with this remarkable people.”

Bowring might have been less discreet for the reasons of the non-success of Brooke's mission were set forth in his private correspondence published by John C. Templer, London, 1852, and in contemporary newspaper articles and as Bowring said, were well known in Bangkok; and in the biography of Brooke by Spencer St. John in 1868 they were repeated.

The first formal treaty with Great Britain concluded by Captain Burney, was as is known made on the eve of the Burmese war. The treaty regulated the relations between Siam and the East India Company. Also with regard to the sphere of influence these two powers exercised on the Malay Peninsula, in execution partly of the treaty between the Netherlands and Great Britain, dated March 17, 1824, regarding their possessions in the far East.

Phra Nang Klao had at the beginning of his reign proclaimed that he would no longer engage in trade speculations, but in doing so, he forgot that as long as some of the inland taxes were partly paid in kind, it was necessary to dispose of the produce by trade,

and this was done by the ministers, who were naturally interested in the venture. The Burney treaty fixed as it is known the measurement duty and thus put the trade on a firm basis. The treaty was at the time of its conclusion considered a success, inasmuch as great hopes were entertained for a large development of the trade between Siam and neighbouring countries. The capability of the small population of Siam to absorb many goods was not however taken into consideration and thus we find disappointment soon after its conclusion. Hence the desire for a new treaty and the petitions made by merchants in England who hoped thereby to extend their trade. The Burney treaty was concluded on behalf of the East India Company and Burney had some difficulty in persuading the Siamese Government that what was done by the Governor General of India, was done on behalf of the Central Government.

Phra Nang Klao always followed the principles of a sound policy and his great aim was, as we learn also from contemporary writings, to be on political good terms with England. In the Burmese war in which the East India Company was engaged, he was successful in his policy in offending neither the English nor the Burmese. Even if by his conduct he could not gain the cordial friendship of either the English or the Burmese Government, he was able to a certain extent to localize the war, although he could not prevent the rebellion of Wiengchan which apparently was a direct outcome of the persistent rumour current at that time about the conquest of Siam by England. It was the policy of a power which recognized plainly that her strength lay and could only lie in diplomatic movements and there is no doubt that Siam in all phases of her history has recognized this. She certainly did not by this policy always gain the love of her neighbours, but she gained respect and tranquillity and this policy was the more necessary owing to the geographical position of Siam.

The trade relations between Siam and the western countries had, however, not improved in the reign of Phra Nang Klao and petitions were sent to the home Government setting forth the grievances of merchants and asking for the revision of the treaty by an Embassy. We quote in this respect a petition dated August 29th, 1849, reproduced in the Bangkok calendar of 1870 which reads as follows and which with its apparent exaggeration may be taken as typical :—

"The treaty of 1826, in one stipulation, provides that merchants at Bangkok shall be permitted to buy and sell without the intervention of any other person and with freedom and facility, all goods, with the exception of paddy and rice. The above treaty was tolerably well observed by the King of Siam till 1840, when he commenced a gradual violation of the stipulation above quoted by establishing a partial monopoly in his favor of sugar, the most important production of the country. Subsequently, in 1842, finding this obvious infraction of the Treaty was unnoticed by the British Government, the monopoly was rendered complete, and since then the producers of sugar have been compelled to dispose of it to the King's officers only, at low unremunerative prices fixed by himself, and after retaining as much as he requires for his own trading operations, the remainder is offered to the merchants at Bangkok at greatly enhanced rates.

"The completion of the sugar monopoly in 1842 was accomplished suddenly and without notice, and was accompanied by an act of gross injustice to a British firm on the part of the Government, who seized several boats laden with sugar purchased by the firm, and about to be dispatched to a British vessel chartered by them. Heavy expenses were incurred by the detention of the vessel, and the sugar had to be purchased from the Government at much higher prices.

"Again in 1841 a British merchant having purchased a quantity of teak, was in the act of shipping it, when the exportation was suddenly prohibited, and it had accordingly to be sold on the spot at a very heavy loss.

"It may be added with reference to the more immediate loss from the sudden establishment of the sugar monopoly, that vessels which had paid the heavy tonnage duties, and engaged cargoes of sugar were obliged to purchase it at high rates from the King for ready money, instead of obtaining it in the usual way by barter, and other vessels subsequently entering the port were compelled to sail without cargoes.

"The measure injuriously affected trade by stopping the system of barter, while the traders were subjected to much loss

in obtaining payment for goods previously disposed of in barter for sugar to be delivered. The perfect impunity with which these wanton violations of the Treaty have been exercised has produced the impression on the mind of the King that no interference need be apprehended on the part of the British Government: and it will be remarked that the King observed the terms of the Treaty from 1826 till 1840 and then effected his purpose by degrees, and it was only after he found his conduct met with no attention or remonstrance from the Government of Great Britain, that he completed the monopoly as above stated.

“Immediately preceding the imposition of this monopoly the price of sugar at Bangkok was equivalent to about 14 or 15s. 6d. per cwt. a very high relative price. Immediately afterwards, the King at once raised the selling price to 18s. and in 1842 when the monopoly was completed, he sold all descriptions of sugar without reference to quality at about 20s. per cwt., at or near which price it now (Dec. 1846) rules. Thus the monopoly of the King has enhanced the selling price of sugar at Bangkok forty per cent, and this is so far from benefiting the producer, that he actually obtains from the King's officers, less than he did when the trade was free; and the plan of placing all descriptions of sugar on the same footing as to price has necessarily caused a great deterioration in the quality produced

“The prejudicial effects of this illegal and oppressive system are well known to all. The trade of Siam has progressively and rapidly diminished as also has the cultivation of sugar.

“Previous to 1840, when the sugar trade was free, the demand for British manufactures and employ of British shipping steadily increased, and during the five years previous to 1840, the average foreign trade of Siam by means of British and other square rigged vessels was fully half a million sterling annually, exclusive of a very large trade by native and Chinese Craft. At the same time the production of sugar increased so rapidly that it became in 1840 the double of 1835 only five years before; whereas in 1846 it was again estimated at about the quantity yielded in 1835, so clearly were the baneful effects of the monopoly evinced.

“ The Treaty of 1826 permits the imposition of tonnage duties. The King of Siam has availed himself of these to all but a prohibitive extent. The impost of 1700 ticals per fathom amounts to £ 760 on a vessel in cargo of 320 tons, the same vessel if in ballast must pay £ 680.

“ Articles of British manufacture imported are white and grey shirtings, maddapolems, etc., figured shirtings, cambrics, jaconets, lappets, fancy muslins, cold and printed long-cloths, chintzes, Turkey red cloth, grey and Turkey red twist, light woollen cloths, metals generally, hardware, muskets, earthenware, &c. and numerous other articles of smaller importance.

“ The circumstance that every individual of the entire population is a consumer of cotton piece goods, which can be best supplied from the manufacturing districts of Britain, and a very large number of inhabitants being entirely habited therein, is clear evidence that Siam offers an immense outlet to British manufactures, if our trade be placed on a free and sound footing.

“ The difficulty of obtaining profitable returns for our imports has always acted injuriously on our trade with Siam ; but now that the staple export of the country is monopolized contrary to treaty, the difficulty is very greatly increased, and this coupled with the exorbitant dues levied on British shipping has reduced our trade to one tenth its natural dimensions.

“ At present the collection of the entire sugar crop is farmed out to a few officials, who derive a large income therefrom by compelling the cultivators to deliver the article to them at unremunerative prices, which offer no inducement to an extended or improved cultivation.

“ This oppressive system alienates the affection of the inhabitants from the King and his Government and has recently resulted in some rather serious disturbances in the sugar districts, producing considerable alarm in Bangkok. These evidences of disaffection have perhaps for the first time shown the King the impolicy as well as injustice of his conduct.

“ The success of Great Britain in the Burmese war in

1826, and more recently in China have fully impressed the King with just ideas of the power of Great Britain, and the hopelessness of resistance on his part.

“ A freedom in the trade in sugar in accordance with the treaty, would be of most important benefit to our commerce with Siam, but this would be greatly increased by the substitution in lieu of the present enormous tonnage duties—an equitable tariff on goods the revenue from which would readily yield as large an income to the Government. The export of rice is prohibited, as there is a law requiring a three years stock to be kept on hand in the land : but as the production of this article is very large and capable of great extension, the liberation of this article, at least to a certain extent, would be of great advantage.

“ Should circumstances render an Embassy expedient—such would be gratefully acknowledged.”

“ The memorial of the undersigned humbly sheweth.—

“ That your memorialists venture again to come before you, urging that the state of trade with Siam has not undergone any improvement since the above document was forwarded, but on the contrary has much fallen off and has been subjected to new restrictions and impediments, the effect of which has been to throw almost the whole trade into the hands of the King and his ministers, that the heavy measurement duty exacted from English ships prevents their being sent to Siam, except in a very few cases, and the foreign merchants there, have been in the habit of chartering or loading goods on private Siamese vessels which paying no duty or a moderate one have enabled the merchant to export his goods with some prospect of advantage.

“ But this has lately been prohibited, the King's being the only Siamese vessels now available to the foreign trader for the export of his goods to Singapore or elsewhere.

“ That the King's vessels are nearly all in bad order, some overrun with white ants, exposing goods to great risk, and rendering insurance impossible or difficult. Thus British property

is kept locked up in Siam, and profits diminished or swept away, while merchants elsewhere dare not send because incurring delay, and risk, and lessening chance of profit."

Under these circumstances the British Government decided to send a mission to Siam and also to CochinChina with the view of improving the trade relations, and for that purpose they selected Sir James Brooke, who it was supposed had acquired especial knowledge of the affairs of the East. He had two years previously arrived from Borneo in England, where his action did not find universal approval, though the Government of Lord Palmerston apparently was satisfied with his conduct. His action was discussed in the home Press and he found in the *Times* and *Globe* staunch supporters, whilst the *Daily News* and *Spectator* imputed to him all sorts of misdemeanours. These discussions found of course an echo in the Far Eastern Press, and especially in an article which appeared in the *Straits Times* of April 27th, 1849, violently attacking Sir James' policy.

It is to be inferred that these rumours reached Bangkok and that they were much exaggerated by those who were not eager that a new treaty should be made, or that the old Burney treaty should be modified to suit circumstances.

When Sir James arrived in Penang after having settled some troubles in Borneo, he found definite instructions from home to proceed if he thought it expedient to Siam and CochinChina with a view of putting the commercial relations with these two countries on a more satisfactory footing.

The Admiralty had also received instructions to put at his disposal some vessels on which to proceed to Bangkok. In March, 1850, Sir James sent the *Nemesis* to Bangkok with a letter for the foreign ministers, advising them of his mission, and he himself with a staff started for Siam on August 3rd, 1850, on board H. B. M. S. *Sphinx* with the *Nemesis* in tow. On arrival at the mouth of the river he sent Captain Brooke and Spencer St. John, whom he had appointed Secretary to the mission, to Bangkok to advise the foreign ministers of his arrival. After the permission had been received, both the *Nemesis* and *Sphinx* proceeded to Paknam, but through a misunderstood signal the *Sphinx* stuck on the bar, and the assistance of the Siamese Government had to be asked for.

St. John ascribes to this the failure of the mission. Certainly it did not conduce to the success of the mission, but it is perhaps only one of the causes, and a very minor one. The Government on the arrival of the mission in Paknam placed at their disposal state barges, and in these they were in old fashion conveyed to Bangkok.

Sir James, after having communicated with Chao Mün Way Voranath (who in the reign of King Mongkut became Prime Minister, and who acted as Regent during the first years of the reign of King Chulalongkorn), had then his first interview with Chao Phya Phra Klang the Minister for Foreign Affairs. It was he who in the reign of the King Mongkut received the title of Somdet Chao Phya Parama Prayurawongse and signed some of the treaties conducted with foreign powers.

Boats were placed at the disposal of Sir James, and the fears which St. John has expressed in his book about a premeditated attack on the mission proved absolutely groundless.

The usual questions were asked at the first interview with the foreign minister about the time he had left England. Sir James replied that he had done so two years ago and that he had received orders regarding a treaty to be made between Siam and Great Britain. On the further question about an autograph letter from the Sovereign to the Sovereign, Sir James replied that it would be difficult for a Sovereign to write to another Sovereign before a treaty was signed and that he was only the bearer of a letter from the foreign minister Lord Palmerston to the Siamese Minister for Foreign Affairs. To the explanation given, the Chao Phya Phra Klang replied, that a treaty between England and Siam had been signed in 1826 by Captain Burney, and that this he supposed was known in England and that, as it had not been denounced, it was still to be considered in force. Sir James replied that the treaty alluded to was well known, but that it was a treaty made between the East India Company and Siam, and that it was thus like the treaty made between a province and a Sovereign state, whilst the present treaty would be one between two Sovereign states. With this view, the foreign ministers did not agree, as Siam always understood, according to what Captain Burney had told them, that it was a treaty made between Sovereign States, as the King of Great Britain had

delegated his power for treaty making in India to the Governor General of India, and this view was maintained in all subsequent interviews. However, the Government, Sir James was assured, was not in principle adverse to the revision of the treaty, but it to a certain extent insisted that as the treaty had been in existence for 27 years, Burney, who had concluded it, should also amend it in consultation with the foreign ministers. They hinted that as Burney had been the bearer of an autograph letter, accrediting him, so if the treaty was to be amended, it could only be done under the authority of another autograph letter conferring the same powers as those held by Burney. This was the tenor of all correspondence, and as Brooke insisted in writing in Siamese with an English translation attached to it, this gave perhaps a not always unwelcome pretext for not falling in with his views. Brooke also insisted in his correspondence more than perhaps was necessary on the high office he held, and we judge from his private correspondence that he considered all Asiatics with whom he had to deal as inferior and only fit to govern themselves under European guidance and that meant by Europeans. Sir James arrived, as is well known, not long before the death of the King Phra Nang Klao and the succession to the throne was necessarily discussed in government circles. Sir James thought it incumbent on him to use his influence that the successor to the throne should fall in with his views for opening up the country, and he thus wrote in a letter addressed to Major Stuart dated Singapore, June 17, 1850 :—

“ Siam is, however, a country well worthy of attention, and, in a commercial point of view, second only to China, but the Government is as arrogant as that of China, and the King, by report, is inimical to Europeans. The difficulty is rendered greater by twenty-seven years of non-intercourse, which has served to encourage the Siamese in their self-conceit, and which has lowered us in their opinion. I shall try every means to conciliate their good opinion, and not force a treaty upon the King, which, when concluded, would be but wasted parchment, if not enforced, and if enforced, would inevitably lead to a war, though a petty one; on the contrary, I consider that time should be given to the work of conciliation, that their prejudices should be gradually undermined, rather than violently upset, and that, as we have delayed for thirty years doing anything, in the course of this policy we may wait till the

demise of the King brings about a new order of things. Above all, it would be well to prepare for the change, and to place our own king on the throne, and the King of our choice is fortunately the legitimate sovereign, whose crown was usurped by his elder illegitimate brother. This prince, Chow-Fa Mongkut, is now a priest, and a highly accomplished gentleman, as far as things go. He reads and writes English in a way, is instructed in our astronomy, and has a very high opinion of our arts, learning, and government. This prince we ought to place on the throne, and through him we might, beyond doubt, gain all we desire."

Sir James forgot evidently in his estimate of the Siamese the historical fact that Siam had from early times been in political communications with other powers, that the affairs of the outside world were known in Siam through the foreign residents, the American and French missionaries, the English, American and Portuguese merchants. However that may be, he submitted to the Government certain proposals for the amendment of the Burney treaty, mostly with reference to trade and commerce. This draft treaty was submitted by the King, after he himself had made certain remarks on it, to the council of ministers and especially some officials who were supposed to know something about foreign political affairs. The great point in the treaty was to know on whose behalf Brooke was acting and whether it was expedient to enter into negotiations with him or not, and the King in submitting these questions to his ministers, insisted that they should give their unbiased opinion. He insisted further in his instructions on the great power of England with which country, during his whole reign, he had tried to be on excellent terms. The whole correspondence with Brooke was submitted consequently to all officials and through His Royal Highness Krom Khun Issaret (afterwards Phra Pin Klao) to Chao Fa Mongkut, the later King Phra Chom Klao, who at that time was still in the priesthood. The resident American missionaries were also consulted with regard to the meaning of certain expressions used.

The main points of the treaty were the reduction of the measurement duties, rules for regulating the contravention of the opium laws, the import of which was entirely forbidden, the residence of foreigners, the fixing of the duty on such articles as did not

form a monopoly, the export of rice. None of the demands were for various reasons agreed to, and when Sir James appealed for reciprocity the Government at that time declined any interference with their own subjects who might have gone to foreign countries.

With regard to the demand for religious liberty which was also noted, the Government stated that perfect tolerance existed for all religions and, whenever appealed to, the Government had granted all necessary facilities to the followers of the various religious sects in Siam. The only thing insisted on by Government was that those living in their realm should conform to their laws, and just with regard to that point, the Government could instance the acts of one Mr. Hunter, who was one of the oldest merchants resident, who had been in many instances government purveyor, and who, because the Government would not buy a steam-launch from him at his price, made himself obnoxious and had entered into partnership with Chinese merchants for the import of opium, which during the whole reign of Phra Nang Klao was absolutely forbidden, and the import of which was visited with the severest pains. The conduct of this Mr. Hunter was the pretext for simply repudiating all demands for allowing free residence of Europeans otherwise than already stipulated for in the Burney treaty. St. John in the biography of Brooke admitted that the Government was under these circumstances justified in their actions.

With regard to the question of appointing a consul to reside in Bangkok, the Government did not under these circumstances see the necessity for it, and instanced the case of the two Portuguese Consuls, under whom trade and commerce had not increased, and who were only suffered to reside in Bangkok. Wherever reciprocity was appealed to the Government stated that it was not interested in the fate of such of their subjects as had left the country of their own free will, and that foreign governments could treat them as they liked as they were traitors to the country of their birth, just as much as other governments might claim absolute jurisdiction over foreigners who had resorted to their country if they acted contrary to law.

As in other countries of the Far East the economical ideas prevailing were absolutely against the export of rice, as there was always the fear that a dearth might occur, and thus the export of rice was as a rule absolutely forbidden. In Siam as well as in Burma the export of rice was only allowed if a three years supply was in the

country. To this policy the Government had adhered from ancient time, and ships frequenting Siamese harbours, were only allowed to export sufficient rice for the use of the crew to last them up the time the next harbour would be reached and, as we learn from the Dagb Register, it was considered a high privilege and favour if any ship frequenting a Siamese harbour was allowed to load rice as merchandise. The demands, therefore, of Sir James Brooke to allow an export of rice by paying an export duty of 1 salung a picul was on these grounds not acceded to.

The great question then raised was the reduction of the measurement duty. It is known that after long and tedious deliberations the duty had been fixed in the Burney Treaty at the rate of Tcs. 1,700 a fathom, whilst before Burney's time it was as high as Ticals 2,200. All arguments as to an increase of trade proved unavailing, and this demand was also refused. It was not to be wondered that after these explanations the negotiations were broken off, friendly letters and presents were exchanged and the foreign minister wrote to Lord Palmerston and the letter was conveyed in solemn procession to Sir James Brooke, just as the letter of Lord Palmerston had been conveyed to the foreign minister at the commencement of the negotiations. Once more expressions of friendship were renewed in it, all details about the mission given and then Sir James asked to be provided with a pilot to take the boats over the bar. Sir James in his private correspondence wrote under date February 22, 1851, to Templer as follows:—

“The Siam mission may be brought up, and on this point it may be boldly affirmed, that the propositions made were just and moderate; and that I strictly obeyed my instructions, in avoiding all grounds of dispute; that I was a favourite personally with the Siamese, though I was unbending, and that the English and American inhabitants fully approved of every step I took. If the enemy accuse me of delay in proceeding on the mission, answer, that when I first received the appointment, it was physically impossible that I could undertake the duty, and had I been able to do so, I could not have procured a vessel of war.”

Wild rumours about an eventual interference were current in Bangkok at that time, but nothing as we know happened.

Early in 1852 news of the death of Phra Nang Klao, who had died on April 3, 1851, and the accession of King Mongkut reached London, and the opportunity was considered a propitious one once more to enter into negotiations with regard to a new treaty with Siam. Sir James Brooke was again selected to proceed to Siam for that purpose, but the Siamese Government had intimated that they would prefer to postpone negotiations with regard to the new treaty until after the cremation of the late King. The new ministers who had served under the King Phra Nang Klao, and who had conducted the negotiations with Sir James, were re-appointed, and early in January 1852 a proclamation was issued in which practically all the wishes of the powers with regard to trade in Siam were acceded to, viz., the measurement duty was reduced to Tcs. 1000 a fathom, rice was allowed to be exported, opium which had been hitherto absolutely prohibited without its being possible to enforce this prohibition was declared a government monopoly.

It is known that Sir John Bowring, after a lengthy discussion between the Indian Board and the Foreign Office and in consequence also of petitions received from merchants to place the trade with Siam on a sounder basis, was deputed in March 1855, to make a new treaty, and by this treaty the relations between Great Britain and Siam are to a certain extent still governed.

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- 2) พระราชพงษาวดาร กรุงรัตนโกสินทร
แผ่นดิน พระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว
By Chao Phraya Divakarawongs
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- 9) *St. John, Spencer*: The life of Sir James Brooke,
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At the conclusion of the paper, Dr. Hansen proposed and Mr. Bock seconded a vote of thanks to Dr. Frankfurter.

Supporting the vote, Dr. Carrington said the paper had been enjoyable because it was interesting, and interesting because it conformed to the facts of the case as they transpired at that time.

In reply to Mr. Petithuguenin, who said the French papers relating to this period had been published by Professor Cordier in the *T'oung Pao*, Dr. Frankfurter said that Prince Damrong had interested himself in the matter, and the India Office and Foreign Office had kindly given permission for the copying of papers with reference to official relations between Great Britain and Siam. The Burney papers had already arrived, and Prince Damrong, with the gracious consent of His Majesty, had given instructions for these to be printed and issued. They were now practically finished, and they had been distributed as they were printed. The first half of Sir James Brooke's papers had also been received, and it was thus hoped eventually to have a full record of the relations existing between Great Britain and Siam from 1782 up to the time of the death of King Mongkut in 1868.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1911.

The past year will be memorable in the annals of the Siam Society owing to the fact that the Society has now a reigning Sovereign for its Patron. His Majesty the King of Siam, while still Crown Prince, always took great interest in the Society and has now graciously consented to become the Patron. The Council and Members of the Society are deeply sensible of the high honour that has thus been conferred upon the Siam Society, and sincerely trust that a new era of progress and prosperity will attend the Society's future.

The membership during the past year, shows an increase of two, and now stands at a total of 104, eleven members having either resigned or left the country, and thirteen new members have been elected during 1911. The financial position of the Society still continues to be satisfactory, there being a bank balance of Ticals 1,786 Stgs 42 to the Society's credit.

Although up to now, but one paper has been read before the Society during the year under consideration, a fair number of papers have been published in the Journal, and there is every prospect of of an excellent output for 1912.

Particular mention should be made of the papers by Nai Thien, on the Early Relations between Siam and Burma, which authorities have declared will become the standard work on a most interesting, though hitherto little-known, period in the history of two of the more important Eastern nations.

Dr. Hightet has also most kindly promised a report on the Meteorology of Siam for the last ten years, and it is also expected that the paper on the Attitudes of the Buddha by Dr. Frankfurter will be published early in the present year. Publication of this latter has been delayed owing to the difficulties experienced in getting the blocks for the illustrations made. As this paper will be fully illustrated with representations of the various attitudes, taken from the most authentic sources, it cannot fail to be of great value to those who are interested in the subject.

The Council have decided that the back numbers of the Journal be made up as far as possible into complete sets which will be obtainable only by those who are members of the Society. As the number of such complete sets is strictly limited (there being only twenty-five) and as they are not likely to be reprinted, members who may be desirous of possessing a complete set should bear this fact in mind. The complete set up to date consists of eight volumes, containing a mine of information not otherwise accessible dealing with scientific and other matters of general interest connected with one of the most interesting countries of the East.

Bangkok, February 1st, 1912.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT,
Hon. Secretary.

O. FRANKFURTER, PH. D.
President.

ACCOUNTS OF THE SIAM SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1911.

Credit.

Debit.

	Credit.			Debit.	
	Ticals.	Cts.		Ticals.	Cts.
By Balance at Bank 31-12-10	To Lenz & Co., expenses of Magic Lantern	15	00
Cash in hand 31-12-10	Printing, binding and issuing Journal	1,484	65
Subscriptions	Draft on London £1-6-0	17	12
Sale of Journal	Stationery ...	2	00
Interest 1 ⁰ / ₉ 30-6-11	Stamps ...	10	58
" 31-12-11	Excess postage ...	—	20
	Cash in hand 31-12-11	7	50
	Balance at Bank 31-12-11	1,786	42
Total ...	3,323	47	Total ...	3,323	47

(36)

(44.1) 2

2nd January, 1912.

O. FRANKFURTER,

President.

C. A. S. SEWELL,

Hon. Treasurer.

N. C.
32

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